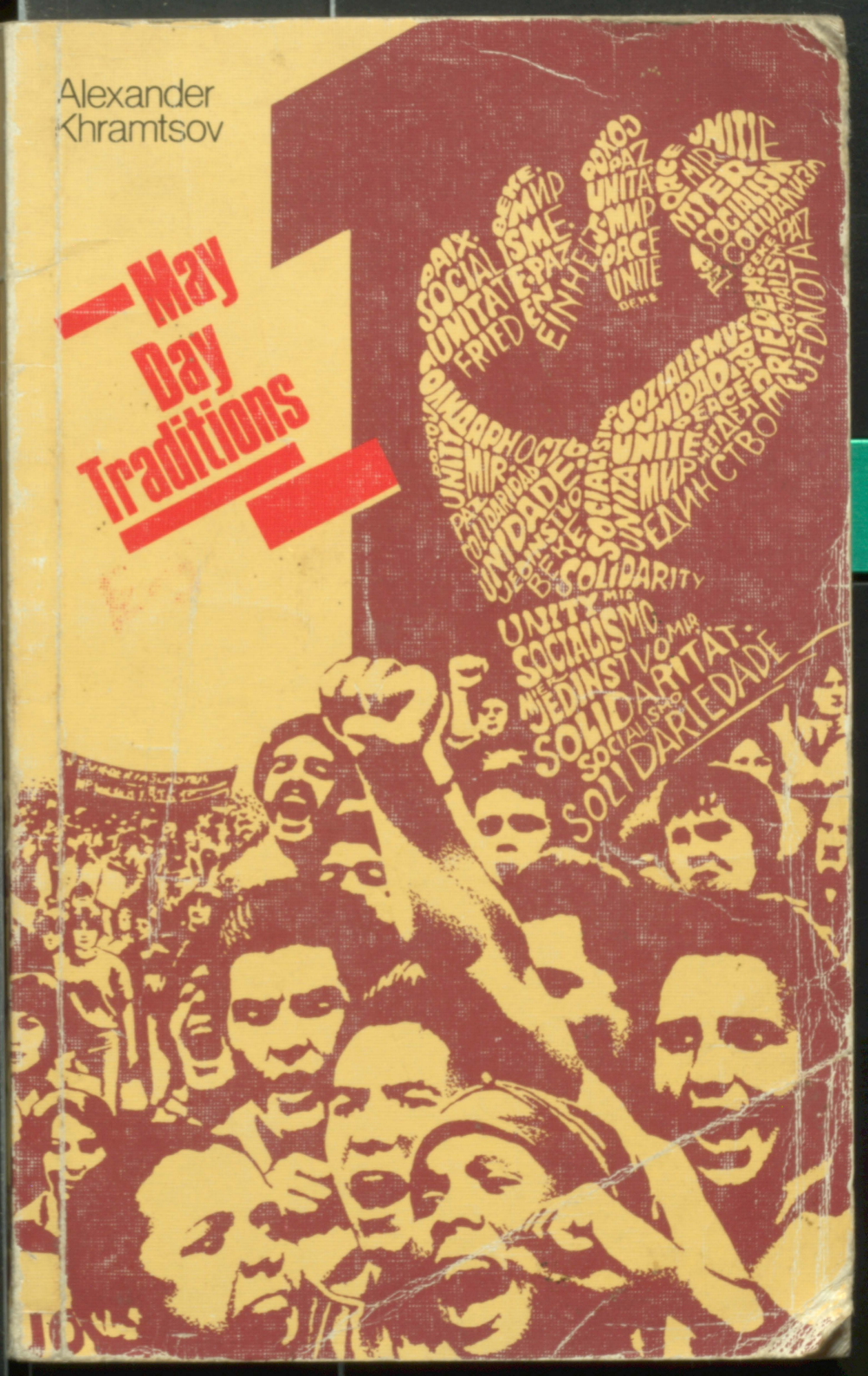
Alexander Khramtsov

May Day Traditions



Alexander
Khramtsov

May Day Traditions

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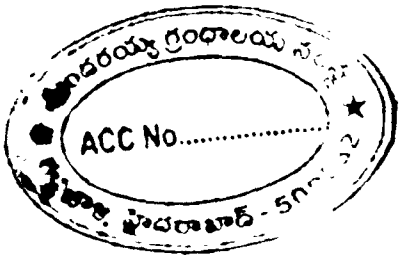

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"THE CONGRESS' BEST RESOLUTION"

The summer of 1889 was a memorable one both for the citizens of Paris and for thousands of foreigners who had flocked there. Despite the heat, during which life in Paris usually came to a standstill, and coaches streamed along the roads taking the affluent to the country and the seaside, the city streets were bustling.

Early in the year, the government of the French Republic had sent out invitations to all countries to take part in the International Exhibition, scheduled to open on May 5th. Festivities had been planned in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Great French Revolution, which had brought the bourgeoisie to power. Balls, carnivals, fireworks, displays of various technical wonders of the time, entertainment and business meetings in the numerous cafés and restaurants, during which profitable deals were made—all this intoxicated the middle class which was firmly convinced that it controlled the pulse of life. Although all of the participating states were monarchies, except Switzerland and the United States, times were changing. The privileges of the aristocracy were becoming a thing of the past; parliaments now had legislative powers and bourgeois-democratic freedoms were being established.

The aristocratic circles of various countries, including those of tsarist Russia accepted France's invitation. Most of the aristocrats had managed to adapt themselves to capitalist conditions. Others, who had forgotten nothing and had failed to learn anything, focused their attention on the reactionary Boulangist movement, which had gained considerable political sway in France. They hoped it would succeed in turning time back, and not only in France.

The continuous festivities were approaching their peak—July 14, the 100th anniversary of Bastille Day. Paris was at its best. Specially selected flower-girls dressed in national costumes and red Phrygian caps, handed out free bouquets. The red-white-and-blue flags of the French

Republic, symbolising freedom, equality and fraternity, hung from the buildings in the aristocratic, bourgeois and Bohemian quarters of the city: in the Grands Boulevards and near the Luxembourg Gardens, in the Champs Elysées, in the Latin Quarter, Montmartre and Montparnasse. Brass bands played the *Marseillaise* and people dressed in their Sunday best strolled in the streets.

Also on this bright, bustling day, shortly before 9 a.m. people began gathering in front of Petrelle Hall. Among them were popular leaders of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation and those who would in time become its leaders: Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Eleanor Aveling-Marx, Clara Zetkin, Jules Guesde, Edouard Vaillant, Georgi Plekhanov and Paul Lafargue.

At last, the doors opened and the people entered a glass-domed hall with stained-glass windows and a stage decorated with red flags and a red banner bearing an inscription embroidered in gold letters: "Workers of the World, Unite!" The inscriptions on both sides of the stage read: "Political and economic expropriation of the class of capitalists and the socialisation of the means of production is the socialists' goal" and "In the name of the Paris of June 1848 and April and May 1871, and the France of Babeuf, Blanqui and Varlin we welcome the socialist workingmen of both hemispheres".

Thus began the First International Working Men's Congress. It gave rise to the Second International. There was a reason why July 14th, the climax of the bourgeois's celebrations in Paris, was selected for its inauguration. In this way, the socialists drew attention to the fact that in the course of the previous 100 years, capitalism had turned many countries into a kind of Bastille for the working people whose mission was to destroy it and build a new world on its ruins.

The Hague Conference (February 1889), at which the Paris Congress was planned, had adopted this date. An appeal issued at the Congress read, in part: "The capitalist class has invited the rich and the powerful to the International Exhibition to admire the fruits of the working men's labour, while the latter, being in the centre of the greatest wealth mankind has ever possessed, are doomed to misery. We socialists, whose goal is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of the existing wage system and the establishment of such a social order under which the working men will have a right to wealth created by their common labour, invite the true producers to meet in Paris on July 14.

"We invite you to consolidate the fraternal union, a union which will give new strength to the proletarians of all countries in their struggle and will hasten the establishment of a new world."

The roll call held that morning showed 391 delegates from 20 countries to be present; however, by the evening of the next day the number grew to 467, and more delegates continued to arrive. Thus, the Constitutional Congress of the Second International became the largest international socialist gathering to date.

In his welcoming speech Paul Lafargue said: "The bourgeoisie is celebrating the 100th anniversary of its revolution, a revolution which proclaimed justice, freedom and equality for all and which ended in the most merciless and unrestrained exploitation of the working men...

"By their very attendance of the 1889 International Socialist Congress the delegates have proved that they intend to attain more than the Revolution of 1789 ever did and that they do not bow down before the 'rights of men and citizens' of 1789, which have proved to be the rights of moneybags... The apostles of new thought have gathered here in this auditorium. For years they have been preaching among working men of the civilised nations, saying that they are brothers and that they have one common enemy—private capital, be it Prussian, British, French or Chinese. Their tireless propaganda, despite all political and economic oppression by the capitalist class, has already achieved the spiritual unification of the socialists of the two worlds."

The Congress' agenda drawn up at The Hague Conference did not include the question of fixing a day of struggle for implementing the Congress' decisions to be held worldwide. Therefore, some critics of May Day maintain that this workers' holiday appeared by chance. They refer to the memoirs of some of the Congress participants, in particular, those of Adolphe Tabarant. According to him on July 20, after the Congress had been in session for seven days, the delegates, weary and exhausted by the heat, were anxious to wind up the final sitting as soon as possible. This supposedly led them to approve without much discussion a resolution advanced, all of a sudden, by Raymond Lavigne, the French representative, on holding demonstrations on the First of May in 1890.

However, there is much evidence against this version, and, in particular, the very text of the resolution:

"On the fixed day, a large international demonstra-

tion will take place in all countries and cities in which the working people will simultaneously demand of the authorities the legal reduction of the working day to 8 hours and the implementation of the other decisions of the Paris International Congress.

"Taking into account that the American Federation of Labour has, at its Congress in St. Louis in December 1888, already adopted a decision to conduct such a demonstration on May 1st 1890, this date is hereby approved.

"Working men in various countries must carry out this demonstration in accordance with the specific conditions of their country."

The first paragraph of the resolution has its own story. The Congress of the National Federation of Trade Unions (la Fédération Nationale des Syndicats), held from October 28 to November 4, 1888, decided to carry out a two-day general demonstration demanding the limitation of the working day to 8 hours and the establishment of minimum wage. It was planned that on February 10, 1889, all the trade unions of France would send special delegations with corresponding demands to prefectures and mayoralties. On February 24, these delegations, supported by workers' demonstrations, were to receive replies to their demands. Taking into consideration the success of this action (demonstrations were held in over 60 towns), the Federation's National Council adopted a draft resolution for the Paris Congress. Originally its text was that of the first paragraph of the resolution quoted above. Lavigne was entrusted with advancing it at the Congress. Therefore, the assumption of the spontaneous nature of the May Day resolution is wrong.

The second paragraph of Lavigne's resolution proves that it had been discussed with the AFL representative, who had appealed to the Congress for moral support for the American movement for the establishment of an 8-hour working day. However, the resolution implied not only a purely economic struggle, to which the AFL leadership, headed by Samuel Gompers adhered, but a political demand as well: the adoption of labour laws. Moreover, that demand was elevated to an international level. This did not suit Gompers, who tried to keep his Federation out of the socialist movement. That is why the AFL chose to conduct the struggle for an 8-hour working day by other means and did not resort to May Day demonstrations for this purpose.

Finally, the third paragraph of the resolution had ob-

viously been co-ordinated with the German delegation which feared that an obligation to adopt a certain form of struggle for the fulfillment of the Congress' decision would prompt the country's authorities to extend the period of validity of the "extraordinary law" against socialists whose term expired on September 30, 1890.

It is noteworthy that in their reports devoted to the condition of the workers' and socialist movement in various countries and to the struggle of the various trade union groups, many speakers stressed the necessity of carrying out simultaneous international proletarian actions.

The idea of simultaneous international demonstrations was in the air. However, there was immediate disagreement on the nature of these demonstrations. At the Paris Congress objections were raised against the approach formulated in the resolution. Thus, Treffault, one of the delegates, stated that the demonstrations could only be successful if they were supported by a general strike which was to serve as the beginning of a social revolution. Liebknecht justly objected, saying that the working men's organisations were not strong enough to carry out such actions successfully. Treffault proposed an amendment, stating that the resolution would only concern those countries in which a general strike had a chance to succeed. He was supported by several delegates. However, during the voting, the amendment was rejected by the majority. The result of the voting marked yet another victory for the Marxist forces at the Congress.

After the close of the First Congress of the Second International, the bourgeois press failed to adequately evaluate the significance of both the Congress and its May Day resolution, apparently regarding the latter as a common means of popularising the adopted decisions. The few reports devoted to this point dealt chiefly with the "sectarianism" of the workers' organisations which had failed to agree on the convocation of a general congress.

However, the May Day resolution played an important part in intensifying the class struggle and developing the international workers' movement. Engels wrote: "The 1st May resolution was the best our congress took. It proves our power all over the world, is a better revival of the International than all formal attempts at reorganisation..."[1]

[1] "Frederick Engels to Laura Lafargue at Le Perreux", Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p. 372.

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF MAY DAY

1. The Origins of Proletarian Solidarity

A holiday marking the international solidarity of the working people could not have appeared at the dawn of the workers' movement. The proletariat had to first accumulate a certain amount of experience in the class struggle, build up its organisations and develop class consciousness. Thus, May Day, before it evolved into a holiday of international solidarity, had been preceded by a long period of strife between labour and capital and by the development of ideas of proletarian internationalism within the international workers' movement.

Internationalist ideas were first advanced by the French Encyclopaedists and Utopian socialists who, however, were unaware of the social forces which could embody these ideas.

The first proletarian organisations of the 1830s were influenced by Utopianism. The ideologues of these organisations espousing the ideas of international unity and solidarity were tended to a non-class approach in their belief in the fraternity of all nations, the creation of a union of all nations, etc. However, the proletarians' class awareness and resolution to unite in the struggle against social oppression made them regard the idea of the fraternity of all nations as an appeal to the working masses to unite.

The workers had a long way to go before they realised that they shared common interests—first at the level of their own factory or branch of industry and then on a national and international scale before they became well-organised and overcame the influences of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats and Utopian socialists. Only a scientific theory, expressing the proletariat's class interests and goals, could help the latter to understand them. The rapidly developing working class was in need of true ideologues and leaders. And they came forth.

Marx and Engels' activities made it possible to disseminate the revolutionary theory among the emerging proletariat. The idea of proletarian solidarity was first declared and substantiated (in the press) late in 1845 when En-

gels wrote in "The Festival of Nations in London": "the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy, and one and the same struggle. The great mass of proletarians are, by their very nature, free from national prejudices... Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternisation between the different nations."[1]

At the same time (the mid-1840s) German, French, Italian and Polish emigrants and English Chartists, founders of the League of the Just[2], gathered in a pub in Soho, an old working-class section of London, to discuss the tasks of the struggle against social and national oppression. The members of the League had put up a red ribbon which ran around the walls of the room bearing their motto in twelve languages: "All men are brothers".

More and more often people who met under this motto spoke of Marx and Engels' works, of their versatile talents and high moral qualities, and expressing the wish to meet them. In January 1847, the League commissioned one of its leaders, Joseph Moll, to invite Marx and Engels to join the League and participate in its re-organisation and in drawing up its basic charter.

Both Marx and Engels consented, although stipulating a number of conditions to be fulfilled if they were to participate in the League's activities: great names were not to be worshipped and sectarianism and conspiring were to be abandoned. For Marx and Engels this was an opportunity to transform an international organisation of workers into the nucleus of a future proletarian party, fusing the theory of scientific communism, which they had been evolving, with the workers' movement. Marx and Engels could not miss this opportunity.

At the first meeting of the League's Congress (London, June 1847) it was renamed the League of Communists, a name which better conformed with the organisation's goals. A new charter with the motto "Workers of

[1] Frederick Engels, "The Festival of Nations in London", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 6.

[2] League of the Just was founded in Paris in 1836-1837 as a secret organisation of German political emigrants and itinerant artisans. In 1839 the leaders of the League emigrated to Switzerland and London, where it soon became an international organisation, uniting the most progressive-minded and politically and theoretically educated workers from a number of European countries. The League was strongly influenced by Utopian socialism.

the world, unite!" was adopted. This solgan proclaimed one of the basic principles of the workers' revolutionary movement, reflected the primary condition for the success of the proletariat's struggle for liberation.

The creation of the International Working Men's Association (IWA)—the First International—on September 28, 1864 in St. Martin's Hall in London was an important landmark in the development of proletarian solidarity. The General Council of the IWA was chiefly concerned with providing assistance to strikers in various countries. Prior to the foundation of the First International, proletarian international solidarity campaigns were a rare occurrence and the aid they provided was mainly in the form of declarations and statements.

After the creation of the IWA this aid became much more substantial. Thus, the General Council of the IWA prevented the employment of strike-breakers. On April 18, 1866 when the workers of a London wire grating factory went on strike, the owners decided to hire unemployed workers from the Continent. The General Council of the IWA informed the IWA national sections in France, Belgium and Germany and they, in turn, began a solidarity campaign. As a result, the strikers' basic demands were met.

Similar events took place during the tailors' strike in London and Edinburgh at the time. The number of such effective actions by the First International increased with each passing year.

Another effective form of international solidarity practised under the aegis of the General Council of the IWA was providing material aid to strikers. When, in February 1867, troops were sent in against the striking Belgian miners of Charleroi, many of whom were killed or wounded, the General Council of the IWA called upon the trade unions of Great Britain to provide material aid to the victims. Large sums were collected and sent to Charleroi. The French section of the IWA followed suit.

Thanks to the help contributed by the workers of Germany, Austria, England, France, the USA and Belgium, a strike of 3,000 construction workers of Geneva in the summer of 1868 ended in victory. The General Council of the IWA organised a still broader campaign of proletarian solidarity to assist the miners' strike in Belgium in April 1869. Troops were once again sent in and a massacre followed. Many activists of the workers' movement and members of the IWA sections were arrested. The IWA General Council then issued an appeal written by Marx in

which he condemned the Belgian ruling circles and unmasked the slanderous campaign waged against the International in the bourgeois press. He called upon the workers of all countries to collect funds for the victims. The appeal met with enthusiastic support and large sums were collected.

The campaign for solidarity with the cigar-factory workers in Antwerp who had been on strike from March to September 1871 was another outstanding event. The General Council of the IWA devoted several meetings to discussions on rendering aid to the strikers. Engels published an appeal to the German workers in the *Volksstaat* (the newspaper of the German social-democrats) calling upon them to stop the recruitment of strike-breakers and to donate money to the strikers. The money collected in Germany, in the USA, England and Holland, along with measures directed against the strike-breakers in neighbouring countries, broke the factory owners' resistance.

On the whole, the period from the late 1860s to the early 1870s was characterised by a sharp rise of workers' strikes and solidarity campaigns were conducted almost every month. They became a common occurrence and were regarded by many workers as self-evident.

Thus, apart from being of great practical significance, this solidarity served to instill a feeling of internationalism in millions of workers. Owing to the purposeful and regular support of the IWA and its bodies, the working class' spontaneous internationalism found expression in international contacts.

The Paris Commune played a decisive role in the evolution of proletarian solidarity. During the very first days of its existence, mass demonstrations in support of the Commune were held in many cities of England, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. On April 16, 1871 tens of thousands of working people participated in a demonstration in London; the local IWA organisations in Switzerland founded a special committee to provide aid to the Communards; in Belgium the organisations of the First International collected money for the Commune.

The tragic fate of the Paris Commune deeply influenced the mass feeling of proletarian solidarity among the working class. The savage reprisals the counter-revolutionary forces unleashed upon the Communards evoked a wave of sympathy and protest in the world proletariat. Helping emigré Communists and the families of those killed or exiled became a major concern of the IWA and other workers' organisations. This help was all the more

necessary, since the reactionary government of France demanded the extradition of those Communards who were able to flee from Paris and France and find refuge in other countries.

The General Council of the IWA and its national sections in England and Switzerland, where the main stream of emigrants headed, set up collections and helped find suitable jobs and housing for the victims of counter-revolution. The persistence of the Swiss democratic forces compelled the authorities to grant the refugees political asylum.

Frightened by the Paris Commune, as well as by the growing influence of the First International, the majority of the European governments brought the full power of repression to bear on the IWA and its national sections. The organisations of the First International were outlawed everywhere. In effect, the IWA disintegrated in 1872, although formally some of the organisations continued to exist until 1876 on US territory, far removed from Europe, the centre of the proletariat's struggle for liberation.

After 1875, the growth of class solidarity among the working people was closely connected with the creation of proletarian parties, the development of the theory of scientific communism by the classics of Marxism, and an understanding of it by ever broader sections of the international working class movement. By that time Marxism had triumphed over many trends of Utopian socialism which, as a result, lost their influence and were relegated to the background.

The emergence of socialist and social-democratic parties in many European countries gave rise to new forms of international ties among the proletariat and its organisations: sending delegations to congresses of fraternal parties, exchanging greetings in connection with congresses, etc. The young proletarian parties' mutual aid during election campaigns became a typical form of assistance.

First-hand ties among the parties and the trade unions, as well as the rapidly developing working-class press and the personal contacts among functionaries of the socialist parties gave a chance to exchange experiences in the class struggle. This presented opportunities to discuss problems arising in the movement, to work out new forms of international ties. All this helped the working class movement to overcome mistakes and errors.

In their works Marx and Engels developed the general principles of proletarian solidarity which were adjusted to specific tasks and situations. The founders of scientific

socialism always rendered important theoretical and practical aid to many leaders of the working-class movement who turned to them for advice. They carried on extensive correspondence and maintained personal contacts with the leaders of new parties, all of which was important to the development of international proletarian ties.

Russia, too, was involved in the new processes taking place in the international working-class movement. The Programme of one of the first Russian working-class organisations, the Northern Union of Russian Workers (1878), viewed the activity of the Union as an integral part of the entire international socialist movement: "Our Western brothers have already raised the banner of the liberation of millions, and it only remains to us to join them. We shall go forward shoulder to shoulder with them and our fraternal unity will merge into a single mighty militant force..." The first Russian social-democratic group, the Emancipation of Labour, noted in its Programme (1884) that "the socialist parties of all countries acknowledge the international nature of the contemporary international working-class movement and proclaim the principles of international solidarity of the producers". The Russian social-democrats supported these principles and recognised the identity of "the interests of the working people of the entire civilised world".

The unitarian processes taking place in the international working-class movement developed along with the strike movement in many capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Proletarian solidarity was reflected in the constantly increasing support of major strikes. A typical example was the miners' strike in Decazville, a small mining town in the south of France early in 1886. Two thousand miners struck against the unbearable working and living conditions, the system of fines and the administration's harassment. However, the government supported the mine-owners, and sent troops to put down the strike but still, the miners had no intention of surrendering. Aided by the working people in other countries, they were able to hold out for five long months. The international proletarian solidarity with the Decazville miners proved, beyond a doubt, that an ever greater number of working people in many different countries had come to realise that their internationalist duty was to support the common interests of all working people in the world.

In the 1880s the class consciousness of the working people in the more developed capitalist countries reached, more or less, the same level, as a result of a greater in-

ternationalisation of the working-class movement. Faced with a common situation, the working people were advancing similar demands. Their demands to stop exploiting the working class and to grant it socio-economic rights were becoming wide-spread. An 8-hour working day became foremost among these demands, held up as a slogan of the international working-class movement in Europe and the USA beginning with the 1880s.

These common, concrete demands could not but generate a mighty impulse to further international unity of the proletariat, and created prerequisites needed for a new international proletarian union, such as the Second International was to become. Viewed in this context, May Day as the international holiday of proletarian solidarity could only have been made possible at a definite high stage of development of the international working-class movement and under wide-spread acceptance of the ideas of proletarian internationalism. The Chicago events of May 1886 culminated the preceding events and played a major role in establishing May Day as a workers' holiday.

2. Born of the Struggle

Over one hundred years have passed since the first May Day demonstrations in the USA and since the tragic events of 1886, when workers' blood was shed by the police in Chicago on May 3rd and 4th. In celebrating each successive May Day, the working class and working people all over the world never forget that their day of solidarity, as well as the international working-class movement in general, were born of the struggle, of harsh battles against capitalism and its supporters.

By the middle of the 1880s the USA was a country of sharp social contrast. Suffice it to say that the working people then toiled up to 16 hours a day. This was a scandalous anachronism for the USA, which by that time had already become the world's leading industrial nation. It was, to a great extent, due to the relatively poor development of the trade union movement in America, and this, in turn, was in many ways a result of the specific circumstances under which the working class was formed there. The existence, up to the 1880s, of free lands in the West, with the chance to own them, served to retard the development of the proletariat's class consciousness. The great majority of skilled workers in the

USA at the time were the descendants of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers and enjoyed a privileged status in society, one which became more secure as the industrial monopolies grew.

The "workers' aristocracy", as often as not, did not wish to take into consideration the interests of the proletarian masses, consisting mainly of new immigrants. The latter, in turn, were divided by racial, religious, language and national barriers. All this, plus the purposeful anti-worker policy of the bourgeois state greatly hindered the progress of the mass working-class movement in the USA.

Nevertheless, in 1881 a workers' union was founded there. The Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada, renamed the American Federation of Labour in 1886, was to play a leading part in the working-class movement. It adopted the historic resolution on introducing an 8-hour working day at its Congress in October 1886. The trade unions were to put into effect, beginning with May 1, 1886, laws corresponding to this resolution.

The procedure for putting this demand into practice was elaborated at the Federation's Congress in 1885. Negotiations were planned between the trade unions and the management hoping that they would result in agreements signed by both sides. In the event of the negotiations' failure, the trade unions were to strike on May 1, 1886. Preparations for the strike were begun late in 1884.

Preparations for the national May Day strike and demonstration were most energetic in Chicago, the industrial centre well-known throughout the USA for its active workers' movement and militant traditions.

The "revolutionary anarcho-syndicalists" had initially refused to participate in the campaign for an 8-hour working day. They were highly influential in the city's workers' organisations and stated that this demand was equal to accepting the owners' full rights to the workers during these eight hours, and acknowledging that the system of hired labour was just. However, by the beginning of 1886, they no longer wished to remain in isolation from the proletarian milieu and openly joined the movement, and made every effort to make the struggle more radical.

The capitalists, too, were active in their preparations for May Day, especially in Chicago, where they had a stronghold. The national guard, cavalry, police and sheriff's men were all armed and awaiting orders. The Citi-

zens' Committee comprised of local businessmen met continuously.

The bourgeois press unleashed a hate campaign against the leaders of the workers' movement in Chicago. Thus, the May 1, 1886 editorial of the *Chicago Mail* reported that two dangerous murderers, two cowards, hiding behind the backs of others and stirring up trouble, were at large in the city. Their names were Albert R. Parsons and August Spies, and if any trouble began, all decent citizens were to "get" them, as an example to others. The Chicago newspapers threatened the rank-and-file participants of future strikes and demonstrations with merciless suppression of all "disorders" and with mass dismissals.

Although the streets of Chicago were filled with armed soldiers and policemen on May 1st, the long-awaited and well-prepared demonstration in which tens of thousands of working people took part was a landmark. For the first time in history the working people were able to fully appreciate the overpowering force of a united demonstration of the working class against whom, in the end, the authorities did not dare to use force. There was no major city in the USA that day in which the proletariat did not strike or demonstrate in support of the 8-hour working day. In all, over half a million working people struck on May Day, 1886.

However, two days later, on a Monday, May 3rd, the Chicago industrialists launched a counter-offensive. The owners of several factories announced that all those who had taken part in the strike would be fired. The McCormick Factory, to which 300 strike-breakers were brought under heavy police guard became the centre of the ensuing events. To counteract this, the workers, supported by their striking comrades from the nearby lumber yards, organised a protest demonstration. The police opened fire on unarmed workers and killed four men.

This crime was undoubtedly a police provocation intended to bring about a spontaneous protest and ill-considered actions by strikers which then could be used to attack the working-class movement. Some anarchist groups succumbed to this provocation. Gripped by just indignation, they printed and distributed leaflets which called for bloody vengeance and an armed struggle.

Still and all, at a meeting held the following day at Haymarket Square, Parsons and his comrades Spies and Fielden, warned the workers not to begin any spontaneous protest actions, saying that organisation of the strike

movement is essential for success if their goals are to be attained. Chicago's Mayor Harrison, who was present at the meeting, later testified that neither the speeches, nor the meeting itself infringed on law and order. It was this that so enraged the forces of reaction.

It began to rain heavily about ten o'clock that evening. Both Parsons and Spies, just as Harrison, left the square; Fielden was on the rostrum ending his speech. Just then a troop of 180 armed policemen entered the square. The police captain ordered the thinning-out crowd to disperse. Suddenly at that very moment a bomb tossed by a provocateur exploded, killing one policeman and wounding five others, all of whom later died. This served as a signal which began the bloody massacre during which ten workers were killed and close to 200 were wounded.

Seven "plotters"—Spies, Fielden, Fisher, Engel, Lingg, Schwab, and Neebe were arrested soon after. Parsons, who was the eighth, eluded the police, but gave himself up several weeks later out of solidarity with his comrades. At the trial, the judges were not at all concerned by the fact that of the eight defendants, only Fielden had been present at the square when the bomb exploded. The leaders of the working people's struggle had to be slandered and punished, the "plotters" had to be executed as a warning to others. The political motivation behind the trumped up "criminal" charges was to destroy the working-class movement. On August 20, 1886 seven of the men were sentenced to be hanged and one to fifteen years of prison.

The proletariat, socialists and the broad democratic circles in all countries launched a campaign of international solidarity with the prisoners, demanding a review of the framed-up case. Their efforts were only partially successful, for only Fielden and Schwab's sentences were changed to life imprisonment. Lingg died in prison on the eve of the execution. On November 11, 1887 Parsons, Spies, Fisher and Engel were hanged in the Chicago prison yard.

Five-and-a-half years after the shameful murders in Chicago, on June 25, 1893, a monument to the Haymarket martyrs, the leaders of the Chicago proletariat, was unveiled. The following day Gov. Altgeld of Illinois, the new governor of the State, declared the court's decision to be invalid. He freed the remaining prisoners and sharply criticised the judges, members of the jury and false witnesses, stating that the prisoners, just as their

executed comrades were innocent victims of judicial tyranny.

Thus, May 1, 1886 went down in the annals of the international working-class movement history as the first major demonstration of the proletariat of a single country. The leaders of the trade unions appealed to all American working people to fight for the establishment of an 8-hour working day. It was this concrete struggle that was to determine for many years to come the focus of the May Day demonstrations of the working people in many countries of the world.

May Day of 1886 is important because then the multi-national American working class demonstrated the growing strength of proletarian solidarity. May 1 was later proclaimed international working-class solidarity day. The history of all workers' May Day actions can be dated from the events of 1886 in the USA, although it was first celebrated as an international workers' holiday in 1890.

3. "The First International Action of the Militant Working Class"

All-out preparations for the May Day demonstration began in 1890. Since the proletariat had never before launched simultaneous demonstrations in all the capitalist countries, the working class leaders were faced with a multitude of questions. Were the ideas of proletarian solidarity well-known enough to the broad masses of the working class on an international scale? How were the demonstrations to be conducted in order that they would take into account the specific conditions existing in the various countries and, at the same time, be in the interests of the international working class movement as a whole.

An event of extreme significance occurred at the very start of preparations for celebrating the first international May Day which fired up the workers' organisation with new enthusiasm. At the regular elections to the Reichstag, the German social-democrats won a victory that surpassed all expectations, receiving over 1,400,000 votes and electing 35 deputies. The importance of this victory was evident to the socialist parties and other workers' organisations. The victory meant that the law against the socialists would be abrogated and that the hard line which Bismarck's government carried out in its national policy could no longer be in effect. This victory,

as Engels noted, "resulted... in startling the whole world".[1] It was also instrumental in making the preparations for the first international May Day proceed under much more favourable conditions than were expected.

On May 1, 1890 Engels was working on the introduction to a new German edition of the "Communist Manifesto". In it he recollected that just forty years ago very few people would have responded to the slogan he and Marx had put forth: "Workers of the world, unite"! And although Engels could not then know of the outcome of May Day celebrations, he, nevertheless confidently prognosed its success: "today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as *one* army, under *one* flag, for *one* immediate aim: the standard eight-hour working day... And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed."[2]

The capitalists and bourgeois governments took counter-measures against the participants of the May Day demonstrations. In particular, the German Employers' Association (Deutscher Arbeitgeberverband) announced that all workers, who left their jobs without permission or failed to come to work for no valid reason, would be fired. At enterprises where the number of strikers did not exceed two-thirds of the employees, they would not be fired, but the owners would conduct a "counter-strike", closing down their enterprises for a period of three weeks.

The terrified French bourgeoisie in whose minds the Paris Commune was still a scorching memory, demanded additional troops to reinforce the 30,000-strong Paris garrison. In order to calm the bourgeoisie, the French government dispatched 3 regiments and 8 artillery battalions to the capital. Despite these measures, some bankers preferred to transfer their assets to La Banque de France in which, as in the Paris Mayoralty, troops had been stationed, turning them into varitable fortresses.

In the provinces the reactionary actions of the authorities, intent on quashing the May Day demonstrations,

[1] Friedrich Engels, "Was nun?", Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 22, Dietz Verlag. Berlin, 1963, S. 10.

[2] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party, From the Preface to the German Edition of 1890", *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1925, p. 34.

were menacing. Thus, a leaflet sponsored by the Mayor of Ricamarie, which appeared on the walls of this mining town on May 1, 1890, informed that the aim of all May Day demonstrations was to cause the government trouble by violating law and order. It went on to state that the authorities would deal mercilessly with every demonstrator.

Stirring up national hatred and prejudice was another of the bourgeoisie's anti-May-Day measures. The French bourgeois press presented the demand for an 8-hour working day as a German invention, alien to the spirit of the French people. For instance, *La Petite Republique* noted that if the ideas of the German Marxists were put into practice, the world would become a tremendous, monotonous machine, with all people getting up at the same time every morning so as to retire at the same time every evening, and that the diversity of life would disappear.

While arousing chauvinistic sentiments, the ruling circles were quite pleased to use renegades from the liberation movement in their own interests. Thus, Protot, a former communard and Blanquist, put out a pamphlet (obviously not on his own money) in which he informed the shocked citizenry that May Day demonstrations have been initiated by none other than the German Staff, and, further, that it put Engels up to the ideas of organising a workers' holiday in order to weaken the French economy. A cartoon in a pamphlet depicted the "Prussian" Engels in company with German officers.

The authorities decided to track down and isolate the "instigators" of the workers' actions. They were soon "discovered" among the large immigrant community; many were arrested on the spot. The others were threatened by the Minister of the Interior's order: anyone who took part in a strike would be immediately deported.

The French repressive bodies quelled the workers' demonstration just as the Chicago authorities did. In order to have an excuse for declaring a state of siege in Paris and in other working-class centres, the French authorities began a search for "adventurists", "anarchists" and "spies". Amidst this hysteria a most convenient "discovery" of a dynamite cache in Soisy triggered a wave of arrests.

During preparations for the first international May Day, bourgeois states used all the means at their disposal to repress the workers' movement. However, their efforts were usually futile, moreover, the results were quite often

the opposite of what had been expected.

Even in Germany, where the social-democratic faction in the Reichstag adopted a special resolution, recommending that workers remain at their jobs on May 1, and where the police and the army were on the alert, the strike became a mass event. Close to 10 per cent of the working force participated, and even a greater number of people joined the many meetings and demonstrations. Blood was shed in Höchst when the police opened fire on the strikers.

According to Jules Guesde, one of the founders of the French Workers' Party, close to one million persons took part in the May Day strikes and demonstrations. Paul Lafargue wrote: "Those who remember how difficult it was to interest the masses in social questions will be surprised at the great change that has taken place in this respect during recent years, and, especially after May 1, 1890. The social question has gained the attention of the working class. The French socialists now possess mighty means for influencing the working masses and moving them forward: May Day demonstrations." Large-scale demonstrations took place in Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Romania and the USA.

In 1890, May Day demonstrations were also held in the Russian Empire. In Warsaw, which was at the time a part of the Russian Empire, the Sanschi Metallurgical Plant, Ortwein Factory and the Third and Fifth Shops of the Warsaw-Vienna Railroad all struck. Groups of people gathered in the worker neighbourhoods of the city and on St. Alexander's Square. After five years of inactivity of the underground press, since all the socialist printshops had been destroyed, leaflets were again distributed on May Day. The police and army patrols arrested many people that day.

In St. Petersburg on May 1, 1890 a leaflet signed "The Worker" was handed out in many parts of the city. It foretold that "the time will come when the Russian people will awaken from its centuries-long sleep, it will shake its mighty Russian fist and destroy the bandit gang which calls itself ... the government... The past decade has so greatly advanced the consciousness of the Russian proletariat as to give us hope for holding our own May Day celebrations in the near future..."

Some bourgeois students of history hold that May Day, as a workers' holiday, was initially a purely European and North American phenomenon. However, in

1890 May Day demonstrations were held in Mexico City and Havana. The participants in the 20,000-strong mass rally in the Cuban capital expressed their support of the European and American working people who had organised demonstrations that same day. They also expressed their solidarity with those whom tyrannical governments had deprived of the right to participate in them. May Day rallies were held in Argentina in the cities of Buenos Aires, La Plata, Santa-Fe and Mendoza, among others.

In England, however, no strikes or demonstrations had been planned for May Day. The organising committee for conducting demonstrations had decided to concentrate its efforts on the mass meeting to be held in Hyde Park the following Sunday, May 4th. Some of the workers justly viewed this as a departure from the decisions of the First Congress of the Second International. On April 30 the Council of the National Federation of Workers' Organisations issued an appeal to the working people which said that no matter whether it would be large or small, a May Day demonstration would serve as confirmation of the principle of solidarity and unity with the workers of all countries, and it was this that has made May 1st a unique day in world history. The 2,000 people who gathered in Hyde Park on May 1st supported this appeal. The organisers of May 4th demonstration rallied a record number of participants: half a million. This was due chiefly to the fact that it was held on a Sunday. The two great processions that were formed along the Thames embankment each followed its own route through London, arriving from opposite directions in Hyde Park where a mass metting was to be held in fifteen places in the park.

The very fact that millions of working people in many countries had come out in the streets to join in demonstrations, at the call of the recently formed Second International, "with many of them stopping work to participate", was remarkable evidence of the way in which the ideas of class solidarity had penetrated into the very midst of the proletariat. As Engels wrote at the time: "The May Day celebration of the proletariat was epoch-making not only in its universal character, which made it the first international *action* of the militant working class. It also served to register most gratifying advances in the various countries."[1]

[1] Frederick Engels, "May 4 in London", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1978, p. 396.

4. May Day Prior to the October Socialist Revolution

However, the May Day demonstrations of 1890 have not been able to achieve in any country the workers' demand of an 8-hour working day. Although the Paris Congress of the Second International had made no plans for this day of proletarian solidarity to be held again, the congresses of socialist and social-democratic parties one after another adopted resolutions calling for May Day demonstrations in 1891 as well.

In a number of countries the second May Day took on a marked political character. Such was the case, for example, in Austria-Hungary and Belgium where the May Day mass demonstrations, in which close to 125,000 working people participated, inaugurated a mass campaign for universal suffrage. In Dublin, Ireland, the country's largest mass meeting ever was held on May 1st. However, in a number of countries, including such major nations as Great Britain and Germany the demonstrations were planned for the next Sunday, May 3rd.

Tragedy struck on May 1, 1891, in the remote town of Fourmi, high in the French Ardennes, when troops opened fire upon a peaceful demonstration, killing ten people. This was an echo of the Chicago events of 1886. In order to justify the massacre, the authorities arrested a local leader of the Workers' Party and Paul Lafargue, the Party's Secretary for Foreign Ties, charging them with "inciting an armed action" and sentencing them to prison. In Calais the funeral of the victims gathered 30,000 people, and a protest demonstration was held after. The socialist parties and trade unions of various countries expressed their indignation at the arbitrary action of the authorities and solidarity with the fighting proletariat of France.

In St. Petersburg,[1] then the capital of Russia, the proletariat held its first May Day celebration with 200 people participating on the first Sunday of May. Their slogan was: "Workers of the World, Unite!" and they called for the overthrow of the autocracy. The speeches of those who participated in the underground meeting were recorded and published as a pamphlet by the Emancipation of Labour group. Lenin, who was then a young man, highly praised them as political speeches.[2]

[1] In 1914 St. Petersburg was renamed Petrograd and Leningrad in 1924.

[2] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 139.

The Second Congress of the Second International (Brussels, August 1891) summarised the events of two consecutive May Days. The speakers were unanimous in their opinion that these two days have been very beneficial to the entire international working-class movement, and also called for May Day to be marked annually. The Congress decided to establish an annual, universal demonstration to be held on May 1st, and suggested that work be stopped on that day wherever possible.

The creation of socialist parties and their international association, the Second International, and the need to organise simultaneous action by working people in various countries, such as May Day demonstrations, brought about the necessity to better coordinate the actions of the fraternal parties in various countries. A correct approach to the problem of combining international and national tasks was becoming a matter of increasing significance.

Engels made a great contribution to working out such an approach and to correcting the mistakes of the German Social-Democratic Party. After the Brussels Congress of the Second International, this party decided to limit the members' actions on May Day of 1892 to demonstrations and mass rallies, but not to stop work in view of the increasing danger of lockouts. This policy was sharply criticised by Engels who regarded it as a blow to the international working-class movement in which the German Social-Democrats were then the vanguard.[1]

The demand for an 8-hour working day was the catchword of the May Day demonstrations for over ten years, though in the early 1890s it was already clear that it could not remain a universal demand forever, especially because in some countries working people have been successful in having it met. Under these conditions the resolution of the Zurich Congress of the Second International (August 1893) on marking May Day was of special importance. It recognised the necessity of giving political weight to the working people's day of solidarity, noting, in part: "The demonstration on May First for the 8-hour day must serve at the same time as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change..."

[1] See: "Frederick Engels to Paul Lafargue at Le Perreux", in: Frederick Engels, Paul and Laura Lafargue, *Correspondence*, Vol. III, 1963, p. 213.

Undoubtedly, the history of May Day had its ups and downs which were largely a reflection of the rises and falls in the class struggle. Thus, by the 1890s, May Day came to be held in some capitalist countries as a usual holiday and large-scale clashes with the bourgeoisie were becoming a rarity.

For instance, despite the fact that in Germany May Day was by then a truly mass event, the country's bourgeoisie, which was among the world's most monolithic and organised, was able to force the demonstrations indoors, and this situation continued for years. In Belgium the May Day demonstrations soon turned into a usual type of holiday with games, attractions, fireworks and even a carnival.

In England May 1st was never fixed as a day marking the international solidarity of all working people. As before, May Day was celebrated on the first Sunday of May. But even though it was marked on a Sunday, the number of participants in the late 1890s never exceeded 100,000. By comparison with 1890, when half a million took part, it was, of course, not much. The English socialists gradually came to mark May 1st as a holiday of labour and peace, with the central attraction being a large theatrical show in the Crystal Palace near London.

In the USA the AFL, led by Gompers, an ideological opponent of socialism, was oriented towards cooperation among classes. This interfered with the wide-spread celebration of May Day. Moreover, it led the AFL to virtually sever its ties with the European trade unions, which, with the exception of the English trade unions, stood for abolishing the system of hired labour.

The May Day movement was spreading to ever new countries. From 1893 this day of solidarity was marked by the working people in Greece. In 1898, despite official prohibition, a May Day demonstration passed through Sofia.

In Russia, the development of capitalism and the growth of the working-class movement, the dissemination of Marxism and the beginning of Lenin's active revolutionary work, with the St. Petersburg Marxist groups uniting under his guidance in 1895 to form the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, the emergence of social-democratic organisations in many idustrial centres and in the remote areas of the country, all furthered the rapid growth of the May Day movement.

In 1895, 300 representatives from 35 Moscow factories and shops organised the first ever illegal May Day meeting for the city's workers near Perovo Railroad Sta-

tion in the suburbs of Moscow. May Day demonstrations, which were, as a rule, of a political nature, were held in one form or another in every large industrial centre of Russia in the 1890s.

The gradual emergence of appeals for peace and against the war danger was another important aspect of the then May Day demonstrations. The resolution of the Brussels (1891) and Zurich (1893) congresses of the Second International first mentioned the close link between May Day and the struggle for peace and against militarism and the threat of war.

The leaders of the proletarian movement have long been concerned with ways in which the working class and all the working people could influence the foreign policies of the capitalist states, in particular, the handling of war and peace issues. In the 1860s, Marx wrote that the crimes the reactionary classes committed in the sphere of foreign policy "have taught the working class the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power".[1]

Marx was convinced that the masses could influence foreign policy after the emergence of the working class in the historical arena. He specifically noted the success of the united actions of the British working people to prevent the ruling class of Great Britain from interfering in the civil war in the United States on the side of the slaveholders of the South. Marx highly praised the actions of the British working class, noting that it had rescued "the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."[2] The effective joint actions of the world proletariat against the threat of a Franco-German war in 1886-1887 once again proved the validity of Marx's words.

When capitalism entered the imperialist stage of development, its character, disclosed by Marx, was further intensified: capitalism's readiness to commit any crime including crimes against humanity for the sake of raking in super-profits, accompanied by the growth of militarist tendencies both in the internal and foreign policies of

[1] Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 13.

[2] Ibid.

bourgeois states. The greed and cruelty of the imperialist circles were now looming as a threat to the existence of entire peoples, and only the international solidarity of all working people could stand up to them.

Realising this, the Paris Congress of the Second International, held in 1900, stressed the need to proceed from demonstrations of international solidarity in the political sphere to energetic international actions in a general struggle against militarism. A year later the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International appealed to the workers of all countries to carry out a mass solidarity demonstration against militarism and war. The Appeal read, in part: "Never before has capitalism behaved as insolently: it has gripped the entire world with its terrible claws, it sows the seeds of war in all parts of the world in order to seize the land and means of production and, with its customs' wars, it stirrs up fratricidal wars among peoples and racial hatred.

"It rapes, kills and robs the people of Asia and Africa... War is raging all over the Earth; military budgets are swelling, constantly increasing the huge sums being thrown away to produce rifles, guns and ships, to build barracks and arm hundreds of thousands of soldiers, to kill and destroy." The anti-war traditions of May Day were to become a regular feature of May Day celebrations up to and including the present times.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by a great rise in the May Day movement in Russia. There was a major strike and a large demonstration in Kharkov in 1900. The workers, whose slogan was: "Down with the Autocracy!" demanded political freedom. Lenin assessed this event as outstanding because it proved the political abilities of the Russian workers: "The large-scale participation of the workers in the strike, the huge mass meetings in the streets, the unfurling of red flags, the presentation of demands put forth in proclamations and the revolutionary character of these demands: the eight-hour day and political liberty. The legend that the Russian workers have not yet matured for the political struggle ... has been totally refuted by the Kharkov May Day celebrations."[1]

The centre of the working class movement shifted to Russia where *Iskra* (Spark), the Leninist newspaper which first appeared in December 1900, successfully guided the struggle of the masses. The paper took an ac-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, 1977, p. 358.

tive part in the preparations for May Day of 1901. In the autumn of 1900 Lenin wrote, "it is time we set to work organising the celebrations in as large a number of centres as possible, and on a scale as imposing as possible. They must be imposing, not only in the numbers of participants, but in the organised character and the class-consciousness the participants will display, in their determination to launch a resolute struggle for the political liberation of the Russian people and, consequently, for a free opportunity for the class development of the proletariat and its open struggle for socialism."[1] In order to realise this demand the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) disseminated leaflets throughout Russia in advance of May 1st. As a result, in the years 1901 to 1903 May Day demonstrations were conducted on a national scale in Russia under the leadership of the RSDLP.

At the outset of the 1905 revolution, May Day was a day of bitter clashes with tsarism. The tsarist secret police launched preliminary arrests in order to prevent a broad participation of workers in the May Day demonstrations and expelled several hundred working-class activists from St. Petersburg. However, despite these measures, hundreds of thousands of working people poured into the streets on Sunday, May 1st. The following day numerous strikes broke out, with 220,000 workers in close to 200 cities participating. The May Day demonstrations of 1906 were no less wide-spread, with close to 110,000 workers on strike just in St. Petersburg. In 1907, and also in St. Petersburg, 115,000 workers took part in May Day strikes at a time when the revolutionary battles were at an ebb.

During the 1905 revolution the international ties were cemented between the Russian proletariat and the workers of other countries as well as their organisations. The solidarity movement in the West became significantly stronger after the Second International adopted the Manifesto "To the Working People of All Countries" on January 31, 1905, urging them to support the Russian revolution in every possible way. Arms were smuggled into Russia with the aid of Belgian socialists, Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, as well as with the help of the East Prussian social-democrats. The Dutch trade unions also smuggled two million cartridges into Russia. By July 31, 1907 a total of 150,000 francs had been donated to the Second International's Russian Fund. At their May Day demonstrations

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 357.

and meetings, the French workers condemned the intention of the country's financial circles to offer the tsarist government a loan in gold for crushing the revolution. The workers chanted a slogan put forth by Jean Jaures: "Not a sou for tsarism!" This led Lenin to state: "The Russian Government has its international reserve: the reactionary governments of Germany, Austria and other countries. But we too have our powerful international reserve: the socialist proletariat of Europe."[1]

After the revolution was defeated in Russia, the way in which May 1st was celebrated was to change for some years to come. During the period of reaction which followed there were very few political or economic strikes, May Day workers' gatherings were once again pronounced illegal and were poorly attended. They often ended in disclosure and the arrest of politically active workers.

At the same time, there was a new rise in May Day demonstrations in other capitalist countries, largely under the influence of the Russian revolution, and a further impulse was provided by May 1st, 1906 in France. Preparations there had begun, following America's example of twenty years before. At the Congress of the General Confederation of Labour (Confédération générale du travail) in 1904, a decision was passed to launch a wide-scale campaign so that the workers themselves would refuse to toil for more than 8 hours a day beginning with May 1st, 1906. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed in the 18 months prior to May Day and plans for strike were begun in preparation for that day.

However, Clemanceau's government also prepared by adopting retaliatory measures. The French cavalry was alerted to disperse the demonstrations. A state of siege was declared in Paris and in the cities where demonstrations were expected.

Just as in Chicago in 1886, the government conveniently discovered an anarchist plot claiming dynamite was "found" under Argenteuil Bridge. Using this as a pretext it arrested 800 persons, among whom were the leaders of the General Confederation of Labour, in Paris on May Day. Although the strikes continued the following day, the number of participants had diminished. May 1st, 1906 in France did not reach the scope envisaged by the organisers, but nevertheless, it added new blood, and not only in France, to the celebration of this day by re-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1965, p. 105.

viving the militant traditions of proletarian solidarity.

Further May Day demonstrations in a number of countries were again moved out into the city streets and squares from meeting halls. Thus, May 1st, 1910 in Germany marked a peak in the country's celebrations. One million workers were on strike in Berlin, with 150,000 taking part in the demonstrations, while 200,000 marched through Hamburg and 100,000 took to the streets in Munich.

The May Day movement also gained momentum in Latin America, then a far outpost of capitalism. May Day was for the first time observed in Chile in 1907 in the cities of Santiago, Valparaiso and in the mining town of Icice. During the May Day demonstrations in Argentina frequent bloody clashes occurred between the participants and the police. The repressions by the authorities brought on a wave of solidarity from all branches of the workers' movement. After a massacre of the May Day demonstrations of 1909, a general strike was called, which involved 200,000 workers.

The massacre during a demonstration on April 4, 1912, at the Lena gold-fields in Russia provided a mighty impulse for the development of the working class movement there.

This autrocity perpetrated by the tsarist regime raised a wave of indignation among all the working people. There were 700 political strikes in April of that year, and May Day became the climax of the protest movement with over 1,000 strikes breaking out in 50 Russian gubernias[1] in which 400,000 people participated. The majority of these demonstrations were political and the strikes,as a rule, were accompanied by demonstrations in the streets. A significant number of strikes were victorious. Russia, as well as the rest of the world had never seen such a May Day before. The events on the day of proletarian solidarity during the pre-World War I years were stormy indeed.

May 1, 1915 dawned an entirely new situation, World War I was raging in Europe. From the outset the Bolsheviks[2] were the war's strongest enemies. The Bulgarian

[1] Gubernia—a province.— *Ed.*

[2] At the Second Congress of the RSDLP (1903) the revolutionary Marxists, who rallied around Lenin, received the majority of votes during the elections to the central bodies and thus came to be known as the Bolsheviks (the noun in Russian means majority); the opportunists among the Congress delegates were in the minority and were from then on known as Mensheviks (i.e. minority). At the Sixth (Prague) Conference of the RSDLP (1912) the opportunists were ousted from the Party.

Workers' Social-Democratic Party (Tesnyaki), the Serbian Social-Democratic Party and the left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party—all spoke out against the war for revolutionary, internationalist reasons, but the majority of socialist leaders, even in the neutral countries, still supported one or another of the warring countries.

The socialist parties and trade unions were to determine their stand regarding how the day of proletarian solidarity would be observed, although, as a rule, they stated that they had not forgotten their internationalist duty, but in reality they decided to abstain from holding meetings, demonstrations or strikes—strikes, in their opinion, would "weaken the war effort". In neutral Switzerland the usual May Day demonstrations were held.

Among the belligerents only Russia saw intensive May Day actions by the working people. The tsarist police archives contain long lists of enterprises which struck on May 1, 1915, as well as the evidence of confiscated leaflets. One of them had the following portentous words: "If the proletarians of the West European countries have dropped the banner of the Revolution, we, Russians, must raise it and carry it on high."

The situation changed somewhat by May 1, 1916. The most destructive of all wars by then had been dragging on for 21 months. Three million men had been killed or wounded and no end to the carnage in sight. The people's patience was wearing thin. New opportunities opened up to draw them into the anti-war movement. However, the Second International, fearful of offending the socialists in any of the warring countries, issued a manifesto for the forthcoming May Day which revealed the full extent of its fall. The socialists in all countries were advised to continue killing each other until "a decision acceptable to all was arrived at".

However, the anti-war international forces within the working-class movement rose up in force on May 1, 1916. Thus, on the eve of May Day a group of German left-wing social-democrats, the Spartakusbund, called upon the people of Berlin to join in a mass demonstration on Potsdam Square in the centre of the city. Despite the state of siege in the German capital and a special order prohibiting the demonstration, close to 10,000 people came out in the streets. Karl Liebknecht, the leader of the German Leftists, delivered a passionate, internationalist speech. The police were unable to stop the meeting or prevent his speech.

In 1917 the third May Day observed during wartime was marked under new conditions. In Russia, the February bourgeois-democratic revolution had overthrown the tsarist regime. The working people acquired many rights they had previously been denied, including the right to freely celebrate May Day. The Soviets of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies were busy with preparations for the holiday of proletarian solidarity. May 1, 1917 in Russia was celebrated most enthusiastically in Petrograd; on the Mars Field where the heroes of the February revolution had been buried in 180 zinc coffins in March, a cannon salvo was fired in their honour.

The demonstration was conducted along the same lines as the London demonstration. Since there had not been enough time to erect rostrums for the representatives of various parties, many addressed the demonstrations from open trucks. The Bolsheviks' speeches and, especially Lenin's speech, attracted the geatest audiences. Workers, soldiers and sailors formed a close circle around the rostrum and listened attentively as Lenin spoke about the significance of May Day and the tasks of the Russian revolution. That same evening he again spoke, this time to the workers of the powder factories and to the soldiers of an artillery testing ground.

In all, close to 600,000 persons took part in the May Day demonstrations in Petrograd, while millions participated throughout the country. The banners they carried bore slogans like: "Workers of the World, Unite!", "Down with the Imperialist War!" and "All Power to the Soviets!".

The February Revolution in Russia evoked the solidarity of the world proletariat which was displayed in its May Day demonstrations. Thus, the proletariat of Austria-Hungary held its demonstration under the banner of the struggle against the imperialist war and solidarity with the Russian proletariat. Enterprises were stopped, despite the opposition of the authorities and the right-wing socialists. The proletariat of the national regions of Austro-Hungary was especially active, holding demonstrations in Prague, Brno, Plzen, Adamov, Vitkovac, Maribor, Zagorye, Trieste, Lvov and Cracow.

The workers of Paris and other industrial centres of France, despite the efforts of the socialist parties and General Confederation of Labour, came out into the streets carrying banners that read: "Down with War!" and "Long Live the Russian Revolution!" There were numerous strikes in Germany. One of the most impressive May

Day demonstrations was held in Sweden, lasting for six hours, involving 150,000 people. This was the country's largest demonstration ever. Thus, the celebrations of May Day that year ended on a note of triumph as the world approached a breakthrough in its political development.

5. May Day and the World Revolutionary Process

On November 7, 1917 (October 25—according to the Russian Old Style Calendar) a new era began in the history of Civilisation. The October Socialist Revolution gave impetus to the world-wide process of social liberation. It determined a new general direction for the basic tendencies of world development, by giving rise to an irreversible process: the transition from capitalism to a new, communist socio-economic system.

The influence of the socialist revolution in Russia led to the formation of Leninist type of communist parties in a majority of the capitalist countries and of the contemporary communist movement. The successful proletarian revolution also awakened the East, by accelerating the development of national liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries. It signaled the beginning of the crisis of imperialism's colonial system. The October Revolution enriched the meaning of proletarian solidarity in bringing forth new forms of international cooperation among the working people. Such profound historical changes were impossible when imperialism ruled unchallenged in the world.

In preparing the October armed uprising, the Bolsheviks were fully aware of its international significance. Speaking of the necessity to instantly seize power, Lenin called upon the Party and the proletariat of Russia to solve their national problems by staying faithful to their internationalist duty. He stressed that in this way the Bolsheviks would rescue the world revolution as well as the Russian revolution while in the process of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of people caught at the front[1].

The first legislative act passed by the newly-established Soviet State was its Decree on Peace, addressed not only to the governments of the warring countries, but to

[1] See: V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1977, p. 140.

their peoples as well. In appealing to the proletariat of Great Britain, France and Germany, the Soviet government expressed its conviction that by being true to their principles of international solidarity, the workers of these countries would spare no effort in their struggle for peace.

From the very start the Soviet state established a policy of consistent internationalism. On December 31, 1917 the Soviet government acknowledged Finland's independence. In January, 1918 the Council of People's Commissars called for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran. In August 1918 the government decreed the right of the Polish people to self-determination. These and other steps taken by Soviet Russia helped strengthen the international proletarian solidarity which manifested during the preparations for the first May Day to be marked at the dawn of a new historical stage.

The leaders of the Western social-democratic parties were, in the main, openly against the October Revolution and the Soviet state. Yet they could not ignore the fact that the majority of the proletariat supported the proletarian revolution in Russia at a time when their own social chauvinism and revisionism were becoming less and less popular. That is why the leaders of the parties of the Second International could not come out openly against preparations for celebrating May Day in 1918. Thus, the leaders of the French Socialist Party sanctioned the forthcoming demonstrations. Big strikes were held in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and everywhere anti-war slogans and slogans supporting the Russian revolution could be seen. The Mensheviks and some of their allies tried to persuade the workers to turn May Day into a day of mourning and to protest against Soviet power by not coming out into the streets. Foreign intervention, counter-revolutionary actions in the country, sabotage and ruin all made May Day a serious political test for the Bolsheviks. They had passed this test successfully. In Petrograd alone people rallied for over six hours. Throughout the country May Day demonstrations expressed the workers' confidence in the newly-established Soviet power. Such was the first May Day holiday which the working class of Russia celebrated not as an exploited class, but as a ruling one. This distinction determined the new qualitative character of the holiday.

In reply to the intervention of Entente and other capitalist states against the young Soviet republic, a mass solidarity movement sprang up in many countries, a movement which considerably furthered the development of the Russian revolution. Lenin noted, to this end: "The

moral strength of the Russian worker lay in his knowledge and awareness of the tangible assistance and support which the proletariat of all the advanced countries of Europe was giving him in this struggle."[1]

Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Austrians, Serbians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Poles, Romanians, Finns, Germans, Mongolians, Koreans and Chinese fought in the ranks of the Red Army shoulder to shoulder with representatives of Russia's nationalities.

The international solidarity movement under the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" joined by hundreds of thousands of working people served as a powerful backing for the Russian revolution. This movement was especially wide-spread in France. Henri Barbusse addressed a passionate speech to his fellow countrymen saying that in rescuing the Russian truth they were rescuing the human truth. Jeanne Labourbe, who sacrificed her life for the Russian Revolution, and Jacques Sadoul, Raymond Lefevre and dozens of French soldiers and sailors who opposed the French intervention will be forever remembered by the Soviet people.

When Anglo-French interventionists began withdrawing their troops from the north and south of Russia, Lenin was justified in stating that it was "...our first and chief victory, because it was not only a military victory, it was not really a military victory at all—it was actually a victory of that *international solidarity of the working people for which we began the whole revolution*".[2] (Emphasis mine—*A. Kh.*) The proletariat of the capitalist countries expressed its full solidarity with Soviet Russia in the May Day demonstrations of 1919 and 1920.

The foundation of the Third, Communist International (1919) was the next step on the road towards promoting proletarian internationalism. The young communist parties were developing under difficult conditions of bourgeois terror and opposition to the reformist policies of social-democracy. They could only gain strength through consistent international cooperation and mutual aid. Their initial weakness, inexperience, and small numbers called for an establishment of an internationalist organisation which would unite the Communists of all countries. The Comintern became such an organisation.

The creation of the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern) in 1921 was an important landmark

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 275.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, 1965, p. 212.

in firmly establishing a class approach in the international trade union movement. The campaign organised to help the starving Russia in the early 1920s was a remarkable expression of proletarian solidarity. A special committee was formed in Berlin in August 1921 to head the campaign, and in October 1924 it was transformed into the International Workers' Relief, a non-party organisation of proletarian solidarity affiliated with the Comintern. Its aims were to render material and moral support to striking workers, to help working people during natural catastrophes, and to launch worker solidarity campaigns. The organisation was growing rapidly, from slightly over 3 million members in 1925 to 18 million individual and collective members in 42 countries in 1931.

The solidarity of the Western proletariat saved the lives of tens of thousands of people in the regions of Russia that were gripped by famine. The material aid received helped to run over 100 children's homes for orphans. Lenin wrote that the assistance given to the starving by the international working class helped Soviet Russia in considerable measure to endure the painful days of last year's famine and to overcome it.[1]

The Soviet working class did not remain in debt, for when in 1923 the French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr and hunger gripped Germany, the Soviet working people sent their German comrades 13,000 tons of grain, other foodstuffs and money collected by subscription in extent of 500,000 gold marks. The appeal of the Soviet trade unions issued in connection with the grain being sent to Germany read, in part: "Although Russia is still poor, although it is only taking its first steps in restoring its economy, the Russian proletariat considers itself obliged to think not only of the hunger and suffering of Russia..."

The International Red Aid was another organisation of international proletarian solidarity providing material and moral support to all victims of oppression in the capitalist countries. It granted material aid to political prisoners and their families, provided defence attorneys at trials, demanded amnesty and organised mass protest demonstrations by various political and trade union organisations held simultaneously in a number of countries. Between 1925 and 1934 the International Red Aid conducted 251 international and 1,185 national campaigns in which millions of people participated.

[1] See: V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, 1980, p. 559.

Such activities continued to grow and this along with the creation of new organisations of proletarian solidarity greatly influenced the course of the May Day demonstrations throughout the world.

At the same time, by the early 1920, the movement experienced common difficulties that prevented militant celebrations of May Day. The governments in a number of countries tried to neutralise the demonstrations by making May Day a day off if not in all enterprises, then at least in all public establishments. Moreover, 8-hour working day laws were passed in many countries, while this issue had been the chief driving force behind many May Day demonstrations over the course of many years. Finally, the working-class movement split into two trends—the reformist and the revolutionary—both on a party and trade union level. As a result of this split the factions opposed each other and quite often held separate and even rival May Day events.

Still, large-scale united demonstrations were held in Germany in 1920, and not only in the major cities, but in areas which had never celebrated May Day before. This was repeated again in 1922, but in 1924 the social-democrats, kowtowing to the authorities, agreed to hold May Day festivities in meeting halls. The Communists, despite official prohibition, held their demonstrations in the streets. There were clashes with the police in Prussia, Upper Silesia and Ruhr in which workers were killed. May Day of 1929 became a tragedy when Zoergiebel, the social-democratic police president of Berlin, banned all demonstrations in the city, including May Day. The Communists and a large number of workers scorning the ban took to the streets. The police opened fire. Clashes continued until May 3rd, in which 33 people were killed and over 200 were wounded. Because of these bloody reprisals, united activities by the working-class in the struggle against the fascist threat became more difficult.

After the fascists came to power in Italy in 1922, May Day celebrations were still held there for three years. But with each passing year, the repressions were harsher. It became impossible to hold any May Day demonstrations in the country after 1925.

During that period May Day celebrations also began to spread to Asia and North Africa. This was a major development in the history of May Day. The native population of Vampoa (Indonesia) celebrated May Day in 1917, the first time ever in Asia. In 1920 China celebrated its first May Day. At the demonstration held in China

in 1924, at which Sun Yat-sen was present, people marched, 200,000-strong. In Japan, May Day was first celebrated in 1922. From 1922 during the cause of three years there were mass May Day demonstrations in Cairo and Alexandria (Egypt). The workers of Iran and Turkey held large May Day solidarity demonstrations in 1923. In India the first May Day demonstration took place in Bombay in 1927; in the Philippines it was held in 1930. Thus May Day celebrations were gradually spreading to more and more countries.

In Germany, gripped by the 1929-1933 economic crisis, monopoly capital placed its hopes in fascism. When fascism finally triumphed in January 1933, a law was passed proclaiming May Day to be "a holiday of national labour", a "German people's holiday" and it was to be conducted under the banner of "Honour to Labour, Respect for the Workers!" The fascists' idea of what this meant became clear when on May 2, 1933, units of stormtroopers, despite the trade union leadership's truly conciliatory attitude towards Hitler, raided the trade union headquarters. The functionaries were arrested and the trade unions' property, worth many millions, was confiscated. Robert Ley, one of the Nazi leaders, stated that the trade union leadership could play the hypocrite before Hitler, assuring him of their loyalty, as much as they like, but it would be safer if they were behind bars. As a response to this and other similar actions by the Nazis a united movement against war and fascism was launched by the working people of various political convictions, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern held in 1935 thoroughly analysed the struggle against fascism and the threat of a war. It planned the Communists' strategic policy that was to help speed up the processes in uniting the working-class movement, with the May Day demonstrations playing an important part. The May Day appeal of the Communist International (1936) read, in part: "Peace is in the utmost danger... At any moment the fascist rulers may plunge humanity into a fresh worldwide massacre... It is not yet too late to bar the way to the warmakers... The formation of the broadest possible front of the masses to fight for peace is at the present time the leading task of the international working class and all friends of peace."

On July 18, 1936 the world was stunned by the news of the fascist putsch in Spain. The Italian and German fascists rushed to Franco's aid. The scope of the solidarity movement with the Spanish Republic became so

great that it could only be compared to the "Hands Off Soviet Russia" movement.

May Day demonstrations amply reflected this solidarity drive, with the anti-war and anti-fascist slogans being increasingly associated with the war in Spain. Thus, the May Day demonstrations in Poland brought together over 100,000 people representing the major trends in the working-class movement. There among all the slogans the most notable ones were for the support of the Republican forces in Spain.

During World War II May Day in many countries could not be as widely celebrated as it had been in peacetime. In the Nazi-occupied countries the puppet rulers, imitating Nazi Germany, attempted to establish an official holiday marking the reconciliation of labour and capital. However, no distortions of the true nature of May Day, and no repressions, no matter how harsh, could break the will of the working people. The underground newspapers put out by workers' organisations would have special May Day issues. May 1 was celebrated illegally in every country, even in the concentration camps and prisons.

The Communists played a major part in the anti-fascist struggle. They made it clear to the world that the fate of humanity was being decided on the Soviet-German front; they participated in organising the Resistance movement; they explained the significance of international proletarian solidarity and its concordance with the genuine national interests of all peoples.

The people of the dependent countries and the colonies of Asia who were conducting a persistent struggle (often led by the Communists) against the Japanese occupation forces, also contributed to the struggle against German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The nations who had triumphed in the war of liberation—the capitulation of Nazi Germany was only a few days and that of Japan only a few months away—expressed their exultation in mass May Day demonstrations in 1945. For instance, in Milan, which had been liberated on April 25, hundreds of thousands of people gathered on Piazza del Duomo on May 1 to celebrate a holiday which had not been widely celebrated in 20 years, and all this happened while battles were still raging not far from the city.

After the exploiters were overthrown in a number of countries in Europe and Asia and then on the American continent, socialism—which had first become a reality in the USSR—became a world system. The entire course of

world history has proven that the October Revolution was not a chance occurrence in Russia's national development. The national liberation movement was gaining momentum, with a number of countries shaking off the fetters of colonialism during the post-war period. Various democratic organisations—trade union, anti-war, women's and youth—appeared on an international level.

In 1946 May Day was celebrated in a number of European countries freed from Nazi occupation and reactionary regimes. Many thousand-strong demonstrations were held in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania. Large demonstrations also took place in capitalist countries. Close to 1.5 million people took part in a demonstration in the suburbs of Paris.

However, after the imperialist states launched the "cold war" the conditions for conducting May Day demonstrations in the capitalist world changed radically. In a number of countries, mostly colonial and dependent (China, Iran and African countries), May Day demonstrations were soon prohibited under various pretexts.

The situation became so critical in Italy that on May 1, 1947 the Sicilian Mafia opened fire on one of the demonstrations. In 1950 the government of Great Britain announced that any and all May Day celebrations in London and its environs would be considered illegal. In France there was a similar ban on May Day demonstrations from 1955 to 1968. May Day was outlawed in the USA in 1953.

On the whole, the celebration of May Day failed to become a world-wide event in the 1940s and 1950s. Practically an entire continent, Africa, was left out of the spheres of May Day celebrations, since it was still under colonial rule. In some countries May Day demonstrations were not held regularly. The true internationalism of the working people in various continents and nations is impossible if all the peoples are not independent and equal. National independence, as Engels stressed, "is the foundation of any and all international cooperation".[1] May Day did not really become a world-wide day of working class international solidarity until the 1960s, when colonialism's last bastion fell in Africa.

[1] "Engels an Karl Kautsky in Zürich", Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Bd. 35, 1967, S. 269.

Chapter II

MAY DAY TODAY

1. A Powerful Working-Class Weapon

Solidarity has always been an inherent feature of the working class. But the role and significance of proletarian internationalism has continued to increase steadily at every new stage of development of the working-class movement.

Prior to the October Revolution the proletariat's solidarity served as a preparatory stage for its decisive attack on capital, and it was expressed in the workers' mutual aid and support, both on a national and on an international level. After the victory of the October Revolution proletarian internationalism acquired a new quality: it became a state policy. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries could now count not only on its own national contingents, but on the first socialist country, as well. The young Soviet state was, in turn, supported by the working class of other countries. The growth of the national liberation movement under the impact of the October Revolution was reflected in a new appeal: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" Marxist-Leninist parties and trade unions were formed, which followed a consistent class policy and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The victory of socialism in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and America further increased the role and significance of proletarian internationalism. Upon becoming a world system, socialism brought about a new, unprecedented type of international relations which could be developed on the basis of socialist internationalism among socialist states. Socialist internationalism rests on a sound foundation: the uniformity of the socialist countries' socio-economic and political system; a Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, cooperation and mutual aid in building and defending a new society; the struggle for peace, international security and social progress; equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state. At present not only one socialist state, but the entire world socialist system has

become a natural ally of the proletariat in capitalist countries and of national liberation movements.

At the present stage international solidarity is rising to a new, higher level, acquiring greater scope. The interaction of the major driving forces of social development—world socialism, the workers' and communist movement, the newly-free states, and the mass democratic movements—are becoming stronger with their policy of peace, democracy and social progress directed against imperialists' aggression and oppression. In an attempt to undermine the working people's international solidarity, the imperialist forces stir up and provoke national egoism, chauvinism, racism and spread contempt for other peoples' rights and interests, for their national cultural heritage.

However, these intrigues are unable to reverse the present-day course of world development which fully reflects the essence of our epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism. Consequently, a profound contradiction exists between the states of the two opposing socio-economic formations—between socialism and capitalism, expressed in their interaction and antagonism. They appeared as a result of overcoming the contradiction between labour and capital after the victory of a socialist revolution in a number of countries, and with the preservation of a capitalist order in the rest of the world.

The existence and policy of world socialism powerfully influences the evolution of capitalism's inherent contradiction, that between labour and capital, by furthering the growth of the class struggle making socialist changes ever more attractive to the workers' movement in the citadels of capital.

However, the capitalist world contains other internal contradictions which constantly increase the need for proletarian solidarity which remains the working people's powerful and tested weapon. The internationalisation of capitalist production has become more intense; it is characterised by spasmodic economic growth (in accordance with law of the uneven economic and political development of countries under imperialism). This is reflected in the relationships between the three basic centres of present-day imperialism: the USA, Japan and Western Europe. Quite recently the USA was ahead of its partners in economic, financial and technological development, while today it is not the first even in the manufacture of new technical equipment.

The USA often calls upon the West European and Japanese bourgeoisie to play down their economic struggle. However, the hypocricy of such appeals is evident: any agreements reached under the aegis of Washington are usually in favour of the American side. In this situation the masses of the developed capitalist countries are faced with the question: are their interests in conformity with the recognition of the USA as the political leader of the capitalist world?

On the other hand, the antagonisms among the imperialist states are influenced by world socialism and the activities of the progressive forces. The big monopolies take advantage of the various aspects of the internationalisation of present-day social development to promote the consolidation and coordination of their political activities. The events of recent years have proven that the weaker the bourgeoisie becomes in each given capitalist country, the more energetically it tries to lean on its international ties. In cases of profound revolutionary changes or any truly democratic changes in one or another country, the international alliance of capital instantly resorts to various forms of gross interference into these countries' affairs.

Despite the deepening contradictions between the major imperialist powers, they still systematically adopt common political decisions, as for instance, within the framework of the Western military-political blocs, NATO above all. To this end, the summit meetings of the "Big Seven" (the USA, Japan, the FRG, France, Great Britain, Canada and Italy) at which the general course of the capitalist countries' international policy is actually worked out, have become especially important in recent years. All this brings the interests of the working people of the developed capitalist countries closer together and calls for their active solidarity as well as their cooperation with newly-free nations. The latter is important in view of the fact that quite often both are plundered by the same trans-national corporations (TNC). A new knot of contradictions has emerged in the past few decades between the TNC and the sovereign socio-political interests of individual nations. The TNC curtail the economic and even the political independence of both the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries.

The TNC have become especially wide-spread starting from the late 1950s. Nowadays they embrace entire branches and spheres of production on a world-wide scale. By the early 1980s they accounted for over one-third of

the volume of industrial production, over half of all foreign trade and close to 80 per cent of patents for new equipment and technology in the capitalist world. They make efficient use of national legislations when this is in their interest, and ignore them when bourgeois governments pose even the slightest threat to their profits.

The activities of the TNC deprive the capitalist states even of those inefficient means of influencing economic development which they previously had at their disposal. Therefore, the growing influence of the TNC means an intensification of the anarchy of production, causing new economic crises, which will be a heavy burden for the working people. An effective struggle against the TNC is only possible on a world scale. Thus, Lenin's words: "Only by casting off every savage and foolish national prejudice, only by uniting the workers of all nations into one association, can the working class become a force, offer resistance to capitalism,"[1] acquire special meaning today.

New, complex and changing contradictions arose between imperialism and the developing countries. The struggle between socialism and capitalism exerted enormous influence on the historical evolution of the antagonism between the metropolitan countries and the colonies. The development of this antagonism, considerably influenced by the October Revolution and, after World War II, world socialism, gave rise to the national liberation movement which is continuing to gain strength. The liberation of colonies and semi-colonies dealt a strong political and ideological blow to the capitalist system. As a result, a struggle ensued between the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism, on one side, and the countries which launched a national liberation struggle and those which have already attained political independence, on the other.

Under present-day conditions the national liberation movement is still incapable of prevailing in this struggle on its own. This can only be done in an alliance with the other anti-imperialist forces—the socialist countries, and the workers' and mass democratic movements in the capitalist countries.

Global contradictions which affect the very foundation of civilisation play an important role in the solution of a number of basic problems in the world. The point is,

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1977, p. 310.

that the global problems such as pollution of the environment, the air and the oceans, the depletion of natural resources and other universally important issues have become more complex over the past decade. These problems are common to all mankind. They cannot be solved by any one given state or by a group of states. This calls for a joint effort and cooperation on a global scale, something that would be much easier to achieve if an end were put to the waste of energy now channelled into the arms race.

The capitalist system aimed at deriving maximum profits further ruins the environment by exploiting its natural resources. Such irrational use of natural resources, even in relatively small regions can lead to unpredictable global negative consequences. This, plus the arms race launched by imperialism, leads the members in the movement for the solution of global problems to conclude that only profound social changes can solve the problems which threaten the future of mankind.

The working people's common interests which serve as the foundation of anti-imperialist solidarity have been brought about by the major contradictions of present-day world development.

The upsurge of the mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world is a notable feature of our day. The antagonism between the monopolies and the majority of the population in the capitalist countries is on the rise. More and more people are joining the movement against monopoly rule and the reactionary policy of the ruling circles. They come from different strata of society: intellectuals, office workers, farmers, representatives of the urban middle classes and national minorities, women's organisations, the youth and students. People of various political orientations, they are all united in their demand to end: the militarisation of society, the policy of war and aggression, racial and national discrimination, the violation of women's rights, the deterioration of the position of the youth, corruption and the plunder of natural resources and pollution of the environment by the monopolies.

As a result, the socio-political basis of proletarian solidarity, which serves to unite all democratic forces, also expands.

This circumstance underlies the assumption that at present internationalism can no longer be defined as strictly "proletarian" and hence must have a much broader meaning. However, during the emergence of the

concept of proletarian internationalism, Marx and Engels were far from implying that proletarian internationalism could only be inherent in the working class. Thus, analysing the events of the time, Marx wrote, "...Workers could not take a step forward, could not touch a hair of the bourgeois order, until the course of the revolution had aroused the mass of the nation, the peasants and petty-bourgeois, standing between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, against this order, against the rule of capital, and had forced them to attach themselves to the proletarians as their protagonists."[1]

The present expansion of the sphere of proletarian solidarity is, to a great degree, the result of the successes scored by the workers' movement in the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the working people. On the other hand, the non-proletarian democratic forces adhere to anti-colonial and anti-capitalist principles as the result of their acceptance of the ideology and policy of the working class.

The fact that representatives of various social groups are more and more often taking part in proletarian solidarity campaigns proves that the proletariat and its vanguard are successfully uniting around their platform all anti-imperialist, anti-war and democratic forces, regardless of whether or not individual representatives of these forces realise this. Mass democratic movements directed against the policy of the reactionary imperialist circles join the mainstream of the struggle for peace and social progress.

International solidarity cannot increase automatically or spontaneously, it only does so in the course of the struggle against nationalism, chauvinism and racism, within the communist and workers' parties, the class-oriented trade unions and other progressive forces. Unity is achieved through tireless and persistent effort.

The working class has always been the major revolutionary class of our times. In the capitalist world today it is the main force striving to overthrow the exploiter system and to establish a new society. Its social role is increasing steadily. The introduction of the latest scientific achievements in industry has replenished the ranks of the working class with qualified and highly-skilled employees. The working class has become more consolidated in its class battles, while the scope, forms and content of

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, 1977, p. 57.

its economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism have been constantly increasing. The revolutionary parties of the working class, the true advocates and the staunchest defenders of their countries' national interests, stand for the rights and aspirations of the working people. They indicate the ways and means of overcoming the crisis of bourgeois society, suggest a practical alternative to the exploiter system, and provide optimistic answers to the vital questions of contemporary social development.

The Communists realise that while advancing to their socialist goal, they must also solve society's democratic tasks. They never divorce proletarian solidarity from democracy and other general social processes. The role of one crying in the wilderness is alien to the Marxist-Leninist. The communist movement values democratic solidarity highly and is aware of its practical importance. However, the growth of internationalist consciousness among the broad masses of various class affinity by no means belittles the role of proletarian internationalism and proletarian solidarity. These notions reflect the fidelity of the working class and its vanguard to its traditions. It would be as unreasonable to renounce these notions as to change the famous motto "Proletarians of the World, Unite!" on the ground that the socialist countries have no proletariat, but a working class, the leading social and political force of the new society.

The same can be said about May Day celebration. It shall remain as it was before—a holiday of international solidarity of the working people, although it is observed in countries where the working class is still insignificant in number, and where the demonstrations are joined by people from various social strata. Lenin said of the need to spread the ideas and demands of May Day "... among all strata of the people who come into contact with the workers".[1] His appeal reflects the role of proletarian solidarity that expresses the interests of the most advanced and revolutionary class and, at the same time, accords with the vital needs of all the working people.

The fact that various May Day demonstrations throughout the world, in countries with different social and economic systems may have different slogans or appeals—different but not opposing—does not alter the class nature of international May Day. Early in the 20th century Lenin stated that in celebrating May Day interna-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 364.

tional demands are to be combined with demands that specifically stem from the need to solve national tasks.[1] While preparing for and holding May Day celebrations, the advanced sections in the working-class fight for the working people's economic interests and political rights proceeding from the idea that the struggle for democracy is part of the struggle for socialism. Here, too, the internationalism of the working class and the unification of its forces serve as the basis for a broad alliance of all democratic and anti-war movements.

2. An Example Directed Towards the Future

World socialism today is the highest achievement of the international working class, and the principal force of the present-day epoch opposed to imperialism.

What are the major features of May Day in socialist countries?

Today, more than ever before, the fate of peace and social progress depends upon the dynamics of the economic and political development of the world socialist system. This development is the chief factor in providing for people's well-being. Also, socialism must be strong and dynamic to be able to avert the war danger hanging over the world. Finally, its successful development demonstrates the advantages of the socialist way of life. The socialist world is watched by its friends and enemies alike and especially by the diverse world of the many developing countries whose choice of development patterns in many ways depends upon the achievements of socialism.

May Day in the socialist countries has become a kind of a review of the achievements gained under socialist development, a way of demonstrating the all-round cooperation among them, their solidarity with the workers' and democratic movements in the capitalist world and their support for the national liberation movement.

Before the October Revolution, when capitalism dominated the world, the revolutionary forces were faced with the task of destroying the old system. Whereas after the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia, economic tasks of building a new society came to the forefront. This brought about new traditions in celebrating May Day in the Soviet Union. Their vitality has been

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 166.

proven by the history of May Day celebrations in other socialist countries as well.

Starting from 1920 May Day in the Soviet Republic became a holiday of creative, conscientious work for the good of society. The 9th Congress of the Communist Party passed a decision declaring May Day of that year the day of the All-Russia *subbotnik* (a day of voluntary unpaid work of the Soviet people for the general welfare) which was to underscore the numerous May Day demonstrations. Thus, May Day became a holiday of celebration and work. On that day in 1920 over 425,000 people participated in the May Day *subbotnik* in Moscow alone.

The Communists set the example. Lenin also took part in the *subbotnik*. Together with the students of the Kremlin Military School, he helped to clean the territory of the Kremlin. Afterwards Lenin delivered a speech at the laying of the corner-stones of a monument to Karl Marx and of a monument to emancipated labour.

May 1st, 1921 gave start to a celebration in honour of heroes of labour during which there were gala concerts, sports performances, and other festive events.

Under present-day conditions, the economic sphere still remains the main arena of the struggle between the two opposing social systems. Lenin's thesis is still in force: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy... The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale."[1]

The working people in the countries of the socialist community have every reason to regard their efficient work as a fulfillment of their internationalist duty, as their contribution to the development of international proletarian solidarity.

They take pride in the fact that over one-fourth of the world national income and close to one-third of the world's industrial output are accounted for by the CMEA member-states, although they comprise only 10 per cent of the world population. On the whole, the growth rate of the socialist countries is considerably higher than that of the capitalist countries.

The development of the CMEA countries has refuted the allegations of bourgeois propaganda that the socialist system is incapable of achieving a highly-developed agriculture on the basis of collective work. These countries,

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 437.

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having 16 per cent of the world's arable lands and not very favourable climatic conditions, produce a per capita amount of grain which is twice the average world figure. The socialist community is responsible for close to one-fifth of the world agricultural output.

Nowadays, the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology in industry is of paramount importance. Bourgeois, and, in particular, US propaganda provides a contradictory picture of the socialist countries' achievements in this field. Thus, when it is necessary to substantiate the rise in US war expenditures, the USSR's fantastic technology advances are played up and the USA's lag in this sphere is discussed at length. On the other hand, when it is necessary to justify a ban on trade with the socialist countries, the USSR is presented as an uncivilised agrarian country, trading or cooperating with which would mean to provide it with modern military technology, thus undermining US national security.

Still, US propaganda cannot alter the fact that, following the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union has been independent in the sphere of technology. This made possible its triumph in World War II; its pioneering breakthrough in outer space; its peaceful exploration of space on a broad scale; its high defence potential; and its successful economic development. On the whole, the CMEA possesses a tremendous scientific and technological potential: they hold up to 40 per cent of the world's patent applications for inventions and close to 20 per cent of the world's patents.

Those socialist countries which are not CMEA members are also largely successful in the social and economic spheres. For instance, the People's Republic of China—inhabited by over one billion people—has experienced profound changes during recent years. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan Period (1981-1985) with agricultural production developing especially rapidly, the annual increase in its gross industrial and agricultural output amounted to 11 per cent. The peasants' average annual net incomes increased by almost 14 per cent; those of blue or white-collar workers increased by 7 per cent for every family member.

We must mention certain political speculations in the West concerning the notions "world socialism" and "socialist community". The existence of these notions is interpreted as evidence of "a split" in the socialist world and the emergence of a "privileged group" within it. As is

generally known, the notion "world socialist system" embraces all socialist countries of the world, while "the socialist community" has a more narrow meaning. It is based on the nature of the relationships among the majority of the socialist states, in particular, their membership in such organisations as CMEA or the Warsaw Treaty, and on the existence among them of a close many-sided cooperation, truly embracing relations of socialist internationalism. However, each given country is free to determine its own attitude towards the community. Depending on its desire and readiness, it can seek closer contacts with the socialist community in the economic and political spheres.

The countries of the community do not regard themselves as being separated by barriers from the other socialist nations. They stand for honest and open relations, for a comradely exchange of opinions with all countries of the world socialist system. Thus, the Soviet Government and the CPSU, primarily pay attention to that which has united the socialist world. That is why they welcome every step towards drawing the socialist states closer together and every positive change in relations among them.

Of course, the CPSU does not deny the existence of differences, particularly, in the approach towards a number of international issues. However, it does not overlook the possibility in many cases to cooperate on an equal basis without prejudicing in any way the interests of third countries. The socialist community approves China's stand against the militarisation of outer space and its pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The past few years have been fruitful in the development of bilateral relations between the USSR and China. There has been an exchange of parliamentary and high-level government delegations, trade, cultural and scientific contacts have been invigorated. The 27th Congress of the CPSU noted that further progress in strengthening cooperation between the two major socialist states would be in full conformity with the vital interests of both the Soviet and Chinese people, as well as with the interests of peace and security in Asia and the entire world.

The favourable example of the socialist countries also inspires the working people in the non-socialist part of the world in their struggle for social progress and complete national liberation, and profoundly influences their consciousness. Prior to the October Revolution the consciousness of the working people was formed through the

popularisation of the Marxist theory and socialist ideals by the vanguard of the workers' movement. However, at the time facts which could prove the advantages of the new system were still non-existent. Ever since the victory of the October Revolution the workers in the non-socialist countries have had a chance to form their own opinions on the system which had replaced capitalism.

Capitalists regarded the emergence of socialism as a historical "error" which was to be "corrected". All means were justified with no consideration for law or morality: armed intervention, economic blockade, subversive activities, sanctions, "punishments" and refusal to cooperate. But nothing could obstruct the establishment of the new system and its historic right to existence.

Socialist development—first in the USSR and later, in other countries—has fully disproved the myths spread by bourgeois propaganda on the "inability" of the proletariat to make history and to independently guide the life of society. In reality socialism instills in the people a feeling of protest against any form of exploitation, oppression and social or national inequality. The successes of the socialist countries encourage working people in the non-socialist countries to acquire a new view of their own position, and to adopt new, progressive ideas in their struggle for their interests.

The banners carried by the members of May Day demonstrations in the socialist world not only reflect their successes and achievements, but call for further cooperation of the socialist countries.

The successful fulfillment by the peoples of the socialist countries of their internationalist duty demands increasing joint efforts. Life has proven the validity of Lenin's conclusion that a broad international cooperation of the socialist countries would result in "...the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism."[1]

The Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA Countries (Moscow, June 1984) was an important step in further developing cooperation. The Conference made an all-round and in-depth analysis of economic development and outlined a long-term plan for action directed towards

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 147.

increasing the scope and efficiency of socialist economic integration. The Conference decided to hold summit meetings of the party and state leadership on a regular basis. At these meetings ways and means of solving large-scale economic problems and establishing direct interaction among science, technology and material production will be worked out.

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress through the Year 2000 adopted by the CMEA member-states at the 41st CMEA Special Session in December 1985 is to play a decisive role in speeding up social and economic progress in the socialist community. The need to adopt this programme was brought about by the transition of the economy of the CMEA countries to intensive development patterns. They have now accumulated sufficient experience in jointly dealing with various questions in science, technology and production. With the adoption of the Comprehensive Programme the CMEA member-states shifted to broad integration in practically every sphere of scientific and technological progress.

The Programme identifies a number of top-priority fields (electronic technology, large-scale automation, atomic power engineering, the creation of new materials and technologies, and biotechnology) in which fundamental scientific ideas will be developed into advanced technological processes. This will make it possible to produce new generations of highly-effective machines. The Programme is based on the principles of continuous planning, from fundamental scientific ideas, through the development of technologies, to the large-scale introduction of innovations. The collaboration and specialisation in working out the problems will save time and resources and will permit the CMEA to progress to a world level in science, technology and production.

The Programme envisages that by the year 2000 labour productivity in the CMEA countries will at least double, the specific consumption of energy and raw materials will decrease sharply, and more goods will be manufactured using the latest scientific advances. This will strengthen socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism. Socialism, from the technical and economic point of view, will also be protected from any hostile imperialist action and from the effects of crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

However, the countries of the socialist community stress their readiness to participate in the world division

of labour and to maintain cooperation in the sphere of science and technology with all nations, including the capitalist countries. They are against a policy of bans and discrimination in science and technology pursued by the ruling circles of the USA and some other countries. The CMEA countries consider such a policy to be damaging to international economic relations, and to run counter to the essence of scientific and technical progress which has now embraced the entire world.

The Comprehensive Programme reflects the socialist countries' intention to promote scientific and technological cooperation within the framework of CMEA. At present the problem of accelerating scientific and technical progress is, to a great extent, a political problem, since the stability of socialism's international position depends upon it. By isolating the socialist countries from the world market of technologies, the imperialist circles of the West are counting on the inability of the socialist community to dynamically develop its science and technology and strengthen its defence potential on the basis of self-reliance.

Under these conditions there can be only one answer to the challenge of the class enemy: to further develop international cooperation among the socialist countries in an effort to jointly accelerate their economic and social progress and to prove the futility of external political pressure.

On May 1st the working people of the socialist world express their solidarity with the workers' movement and with all democratic forces in the capitalist world that are fighting against the monopolies and for democracy and social progress.

The socialist countries' success in solving major social, economic and political problems has increased the popularity of socialism's democratic and humane nature in the world. Consequently, the monopoly bourgeoisie have become more pliable to the expanding range of demands of the working class in the capitalist countries, and now must take into account the world balance of forces in their counter-offensive against labour.

The consolidation of world socialism encourages the vanguard of the workers' movement in the capitalist states to seek peaceful means of attaining power and to achieve socialism in each given country in the form which is most favourable to its national traditions and its level of development. It would scarcely be possible to place on a practical plane the question of a democratic advance

towards socialism if the world balance of forces were weighed heavily in favour of imperialism.

For hundreds of thousands of working people in the capitalist world caught up in mass unemployment the development of economic relations with the socialist countries, something which would provide them with jobs—is of vital importance. While the Western countries, primarily the USA, resort to diktat in their international economic policy, the socialist countries are establishing relations among nations that exclude exploitation and discrimination as well as the use of economic levers for interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

The socialist working class often acts in direct solidarity with the fighting proletariat of the West. For example, the trade unions of the socialist countries rendered extensive support to English miners who were on a prolonged strike in 1984-1985.

May Day appeals in the socialist countries also call for maintaining solidarity with the peoples of the newly-free countries in their struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, dictator regimes, racism, apartheid, and economic dependence and for a just international economic order.

Helping the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries has become a traditional expression of the Soviet working class's proletarian solidarity from the very inception of the Soviet state. Lenin wrote: "It is unquestionable that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support."[1]

The very fact that the socialist states exist, exerts a great influence on the content, forms and socio-economic orientation of the national liberation movement. To the nations which have gained political independence, world socialism is a convincing example of how backwardness can be overcome and social and economic progress achieved. The decision of many developing countries to introduce state planning of their economies has been in many ways influenced by the example of world socialism. Nations which are in the process of choosing their

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 243-244.

development patterns or those who have embarked upon the road to socialism consider it necessary to study the theory and practice of non-capitalist development which was successfully realised by smaller nations in the outlying districts of the former Russian Empire and also in Mongolia.

The stronger the socialist countries became in the economic and political spheres, the greater were their possibilities in providing comprehensive assistance to the national liberation movements and protecting the developing countries' freedom and independence from foreign encroachment. The socialist community repeatedly prevented the imperialist export of counter-revolution. Such was the case in Angola, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Ethiopia and Laos. Imperialism is loosing ground in the local conflicts it unleashes against the national liberation and revolutionary forces in the developing countries.

Ties with the USSR and the other members of the socialist community are particularly important to the developing countries which are building up their economies. These ties have been expanding constantly and growing stronger, as they are truly based on just and equal international economic relations. Thus, in over 100 developing countries, close to 4,000 projects were built with the economic and technical assistance of the socialist community. Besides, tens of thousands of young people from 120 developing countries are now studying in higher or secondary educational establishments in socialist countries, and over 15,000 people from 70 countries receive vocational training there. Soviet aid alone helped to build and put into operation over 330 projects in Africa, while another 300 are now under construction. Over 450,000 specialists and workers from Africa have been educated and trained in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has become a university for African youth: 22,000 students from Africa are enrolled in its educational establishments.

The socialist countries are against the attempts of various forces, including those in the workers' movement, to isolate the national liberation movement from its natural ally, the socialist community by, in part, promoting the false theory based on dividing the world into the "rich North" and "poor South".

The truly internationalist policy course of world socialism directed towards the support of all movements for peace, democracy, national independence and social

progress ensures the unity of the world's working people in their struggle against imperialism. This course is clearly reflected in May Day celebrations in the socialist countries. The demonstrations show the world the distinctive features of socialism: collectivism, comradely mutual aid, freedom and humanism. Socialism is a reality open to all of mankind, an example directed to the future.

3. May Day in the Citadels of Capitalism

The proletarian solidarity of the working people in the capitalist countries is coming to occupy an ever-greater place in their anti-monopoly actions. These include May Day demonstrations, during which, especially in recent years, the people have raised their voice against the power of the monopolies. May Day has provided an opportunity to defend the working people's gains, and to show solidarity in their struggle for the right to work, and for their basic political, social and economic rights—and this is no chance occurrence.

In the 1960s and 70s, under favourable economic conditions, the working people achieved certain gains. However, starting in the mid-70s, capitalism launched a counter-offensive. The working people were deprived of a bulk of their social gains, standard of living was sharply reduced. The present unemployment rate is the highest ever in the post-war period. The condition of peasants and farmers is significantly deteriorating: some go bankrupt and join the ranks of hired labour; while others fall into the bondage of big agricultural monopolies and banks. Social stratification is proceeding rapidly. For example, in the USA one per cent of the wealthiest families own over 50 per cent more wealth than 80 per cent of the families at the bottom of the social pyramid.

Although the ruling imperialist circles are fully aware of the fact that such a situation is fraught with the danger of social outbursts and political destabilisation, they have not made their policy more sensible. On the contrary, in recent years the most uncompromising, reactionary circles of the ruling class have been gaining an upper hand in a number of countries. This period has been marked by an especially stubborn offensive by the monopolies against the working people's rights.

Capitalism has accumulated a whole arsenal of means to consolidate its power: trade unions are persecuted and

subjected to economic blackmail; anti-labour laws are put into force; the Left and all progressive forces are oppressed; constant supervision, or, more precisely, surveillance of people's thoughts and behaviour has become a norm; the cultivation of individualism, of the right of the strong in the struggle for survival, has taken on unprecedented dimensions.

Dragging out the old "divide and rule" motto, the ruling circles make use of all the means at their disposal to disunite the working people and deepen the split in the working class.

Marx noted that capitalist production had a dual influence on the consciousness of the proletariat. On the one hand, it serves as a material foundation for the development of proletarian solidarity and, on the other, contains in itself the economic cause of "internal competition" among the working class, since the proletariat is subject to "...all the vicissitudes of competition..."[1]

Under present-day conditions the tendency towards "internal competition" among the working class has found new fertile ground. Firstly, with a sharp increase in unemployment, tensions between certain categories of the employed, as well as between the employed and the unemployed mount; secondly, the reactionary forces in most of the developed capitalist countries use large contingents of foreign workers to divert the working people's protest against unemployment by increasing competition among workers of different nationalities and stirring up chauvinistic sentiments. In this way they deepen the split in the working-class movement; thirdly, the TNC also stir up nationalistic sentiments among the workers by moving their enterprises to countries where labour is cheaper.

"Anti-solidarity" tendencies are nourished by bourgeois, and sometimes by social-reformist politicians and ideologues. The workers are being convinced that the only way they can protect themselves from the disastrous consequences of a crisis, primarily unemployment, is by taking individual or corporate actions, even if these run counter to the interests of the working class as a whole. The aim of the Rightist propaganda is to persuade the working people that the source of their difficulties lies not in the self-interested policy of the monopolies, but in some other "objective" reasons such

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 490.

as the crisis itself or present structural and technological re-organisations.

The Programme of the CPSU (A New Edition), approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU in 1986, provides a clear answer: "The question of what goals the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution should serve has become pivotal in the present-day socio-political struggle. Contemporary science and technology make it possible to ensure abundance on earth and to create material conditions for a flourishing of society and the development of the individual. These creations of the human mind and human hands, however, are being turned against humanity itself owing to class selfishness, for the sake of enrichment of the elite, which dominates the capitalist world. This is a glaring contradiction which confronts mankind as it approaches the threshold of the 21st century."

The wide dissemination of the idea that the lay-offs of labour forces as a result of new technology determine the rate of unemployment, is also an unmistakable "anti-solidarity" tendency. Such a determination is in fact a "neo-Luddite" view—since it is based on the same assumption that drove the Luddites to destroy machinery—that new machinery supposedly eliminates the very need for the existence of a working class. It is obvious that workers who believe in such an idea are lost to the class struggle, since they would regard this as fruitless, a battle for a class that is doomed to extinction. This is the exact reasoning bourgeois propaganda is trying to instill in the workers.

However, reality not only refutes this assumption but proves the increasing importance of proletarian solidarity. It is indeed true that the introduction of new machinery and technology saves labour. However, whether scientific and technological development proceeded evenly or unevenly, the labour market always tended to expand steadily, despite certain fluctuations, so ever new millions of peoples were drawn into production. Only narrow-mindedness can lead to the conclusion that the introduction of technical innovations is responsible for the growth of unemployment. In reality new technology is only one of many factors which determine employment under capitalism.

A rapid growth in unemployment in the capitalist countries has been caused by a rapidly growing contradiction between new, often gigantic opportunities as a result of the progress in science and technology and the

reality where the rights of workers are suppressed by monopoly capital. That is, on the one hand progress allows for a greater fulfillment of individual, group, social or global needs of the working people, yet on the other, monopolies deprive the working people of the opportunity to fulfill their needs, resulting in a loss of the gains previously attained by the workers.

Bourgeois economists attempt to obscure the role of the monopolies in raising of unemployment figures. By playing down the example set by the socialist community where, as it is generally known, there is no such thing as unemployment, bourgeois propaganda suggests full employment in the CMEA member-countries is allegedly a result of a low technical level and low labour productivity. As already mentioned, the technological "backwardness" of the socialist countries and their "dependence" in this respect on the West, are a fiction used by the West when it is expedient to do so.

It must be also noted that under socialism full employment is not affected by any increases in labour productivity, because the aim of production under this social system is not an increase in profits for the few, but a steady rise in the overall standard of living. If material and cultural needs are not suppressed by the exploiter classes, they always exceed the opportunities for their realisation.

Under capitalism employment is affected by using new scientific and technical innovations to whip up the arms race. Greater investments are made in the war industry which, in turn, results in the elimination of jobs. This has a negative effect on the level of employment, both in the war industry and in society as a whole.

The dynamics of employment in the capitalist world show that under present-day conditions a direct struggle for the right to work must be combined with a movement for peace and disarmament, for increasing the population's purchasing power, for developing the social security system, for decreasing working hours while preserving the established wages, for better leisure facilities, for a democratic reform of the public education system, for the preservation of the environment, etc.

The struggle against unemployment, a tragedy that has stricken millions, is a comprehensive and many-sided struggle that calls for a greater solidarity of the working class and of all working people to intensify their anti-monopoly actions, especially those aimed against the TNC.

The TNC's economic might and vast network provide them with additional possibilities for increasing exploitation, and thus worsening the living and working conditions of the workers. They often ignore the various rights and gains which the workers and their organisations have achieved in various countries. The TNC possess a weapon they often use against the workers' movement and international solidarity: the mass, and often unexpected, transfer of capital from one country to another, and moving factories to areas in which the class struggle is less intense.

Centralised management gives transnational corporations a chance to conduct a social policy directed at disuniting the national contingents of the proletariat and manipulating it in their own interests. They use their super-profits and "legal presence" in sovereign states to influence the policies of these states by bribing statesmen and trade union leaders, and by organising conspiracies and coups.

Today the TNC are the most powerful and dangerous enemy of the working-class movement in the non-socialist world. A complete victory over the TNC is only possible if capitalist social relations are fully eradicated. But even under capitalist rule, the working people's organisations are able to weaken the influence and neutralise the most unfavourable effects of TNC activities. Everything depends on these organisations' strength and militancy.

Here it must be noted that although the TNC pursue their own mercenary ends, this, at the same time, helps in strengthening the solidarity of the proletariat—unity is its strongest and time-tested weapon. Workers' organisations are prompted to adopt a strategy against the TNC, both on a national and an international scale. An increasing number of these organisations counter the TNC's policy by planning actions that provide alternative measures for solving the basic social and economic tasks.

The reformist wing of the workers' movement is also becoming aware of the necessity to protect their interests on a world level. The trade unions of capitalist Europe cooperate in pursuing their actions to rebuff the TNC. The unions have worked out the following forms of struggle: solidarity strikes—in protest of the TNC's offensive against the working class of a given country; concluding collective agreements with the TNC simultaneously; and consultations among trade union representatives of the same corporation's enterprises in various countries.

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has a special role in coordinating the actions of trade unions of various orientations in the struggle against the TNC. The federation unites over 200 million working people in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries, regardless of their political convictions, religious beliefs or party affiliation. Under its auspices are included 90 national trade union centres and 11 international trade union associations which coordinate the actions of workers in various countries either on a single or on several adjacent branches of the economy. These associations encompass close to 600 organisations in various industries, including over 60 from countries whose national trade union centres have not joined the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The aim of the World Federation of Trade Unions is to democratise the activities of the TNC; to achieve equal payment for equal work when enterprises are transferred to another country; to provide for the compulsory trade unions participation in elaborating and putting into practice plans that introduce new technology and provide for retraining the workers; to influence investment policies in the interests of the employees.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has a standing commission on the TNC whose activity is arousing growing interest in the international trade union movement. At the end of 1985 the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions examined the results of the commission's activities and called upon all international, regional and national trade union organisations to further unify their actions in rebuffing the policy of the international monopolies.

The working people in the citadels of imperialism are concerned not only about their own problems. Despite the fact that in many capitalist countries, expressing sympathy with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries can result in trouble and repressions, May Day demonstrations still often see slogans of support for the Soviet peace initiatives, and for cooperation with the East—a policy which would provide hundreds of thousands of jobs. The appeal: "Trade, not War!" is often heard at May Day celebrations.

During the past few decades, people in developed capitalist countries have been showing growing interest in the problems of the national liberation movement. Slogans of solidarity with the fighting peoples of Nicaragua, Chile and Salvador, among others, have become common at May Day demonstrations.

The further increase in the scope and effectiveness of May Day actions greatly depends on the unity of the trade unions, both on a national and on an international level. Previously the working-class parties were usually the initiators of mass May Day rallies. Today this role has been taken over by the trade unions. In countries where the trade unions are consolidated, the working people's actions on May Day are also consolidated and powerful.

May Day demonstrations are very impressive in countries where several trade union centres agree to jointly celebrate May Day. Such was the case in France in 1983, in Italy in 1986 and in Japan where hundreds of thousands of working people gather in Yoyogi Park, Tokyo, a traditional place for holding May Day rallies.

The fact that national trade union centres often belong to different international trade union associations, results in considerable and sometimes insuperable difficulties in planning joint May Day demonstrations. Therefore, the unity of the world trade union movement is essential, both for promoting international solidarity among the working people and for conducting successful May Day actions.

Under conditions of the cold war launched by the imperialist circles late in the 1940s, a number of organisations comprising the reformist wing of the workers' movement pursued a course of splitting up the movement. Trade union leaders of the USA and Great Britain split the World Federation of Trade Unions, founded in October 1945, the first truly universal organisation uniting the majority of the existing national trade union centres. To counter-balance the WFTU they organised, in 1949, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), an association of reformist trade unions. Since then trade union unity has depended on the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (85 million members) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL, 18 million members)—a reformist organisation, traditionally and ideologically connected with the Roman Catholic Church.

From its very inception the ICFTU has adopted various anti-communist decisions, obstructing the establishment of contacts with the trade unions incorporated in the World Federation of Trade Unions. However, this policy has often run counter to the desire of the rank-and-file members who wanted to act in solidarity defend-

ing the interests of the masses.

Faced with the problems of capitalist society, the workers, including members of the trade union centres, united in the ICFTU have become aware of the negative consequences of the split in the trade union movement, even from the standpoint of their particular interests. That is why the trade union rank-and-file members often urge their leadership to take part in all-embracing solidarity actions.

Workers in reformist trade unions are also influenced by the purposeful activity of the consistently class-oriented organisations which are directed towards achieving unity of action.

During the period of detente (the late 1960s-1970s) a number of national sections of the ICFTU ignored the ban on contacts with trade unions that are members of the WFTU. In fact, close ties were established between the Central Trade Union Council, the central trade union body of the USSR, and such major ICFTU organisations as the British Trade Unions and the Association of German Trade Unions. The logic of developing relations among the trade unions, as well as the feeling of class affinity by the workers' representatives, were instrumental in making proletarian solidarity a dominating feature of these contacts. It was no mere chance that in 1969, the sternest enemy of trade union unity—the American Federation of Labour—Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL—CIO)—left the ICFTU in protest against the numerous violations of the ban on maintaining contacts with the World Federation of Trade Unions member organisations.

The World Confederation of Labour did not stand aloof from the unitarian actions that took place during detente although it had always placed prime significance on cooperation with the ICFTU trade unions, and at times its relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions were clouded by setbacks of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism including attempts to discredit this progressive international trade union centre. Nevertheless, in the 1970s the World Confederation of Labour adopted a decision to set up a commission for contacts with the trade unions of the socialist countries, and, in 1971, at the initiative of the general secretaries of both organisations, the first meeting of WCL and WFTU delegations was held.

However, the situation in the world trade union movement changed drastically towards the end of the

1970s and in the early 1980s, when the US Administration openly embarked upon the adventurous course of undermining detente and gaining military superiority over the socialist countries. Under these conditions, the adversaries of trade union unity resumed their activities and began neutralising the unitarian tendencies under various pretexts.

The AFL—CIO had become very active in the international arena: in 1979 together with representatives of the ICFTU and the WCL, and in support of the imperialist campaign against "violations" of human rights in the socialist countries, it set out to make an issue in the ILO concerning the alleged infringements of human rights in the Soviet trade unions. The enemies of trade union unity also made use of the anti-Soviet hysteria in the West in connection with the events in Poland and Afghanistan, thereby shattering the ties between the reformist trade unions and the trade unions of a consistent class orientation.

Nevertheless, the opponents of trade union unity were not very successful. The working people are increasingly realising the significance of proletarian solidarity, both on a national and on an international level. They are often guided by the experience they gained in recent years. Thus, the tireless activities of the class-oriented trade unions in support of the working people of South Africa, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Salvador, and of the trade union activists in Turkey and Indonesia cannot be ignored by the reformist trade union centres which conduct joint or parallel actions with them.

The very course of the class struggle helps the masses to comprehend their genuine class interests, their common membership in the great international army of labour and to realise the need for the further consolidation of international solidarity on all levels. Such solidarity is again gaining momentum. The increasing scope and intensity of May Day actions is further proof of this.

4. For Solidarity, Independence and Development

After the imperialist colonial system disintegrated on its ruins emerged dozens of independent states. This historic achievement by the national liberation revolutions and movements greatly influenced the alignment of forces in the world. A process set in of slow and difficult, but incessant socio-economic changes in the lives of the majority of nations.

Yet capitalism has in many ways succeeded in preserving former economic relations with newly-free states keeping them dependent. It does so by using a whole range of means such as political manoeuvring, promises, bribery, military threats, blackmail and often direct interference in the internal affairs of newly-free states. It has created and elaborated the most refined system of neocolonial exploitation, by economically binding a considerable number of newly-free countries to itself.

This has brought about tragic consequences. Despite the fact that the developing countries possess gigantic human and natural resources (two-thirds of the world's population and over two-thirds of the basic types of minerals in the non-socialist world), most are in a state of poverty. In the early 1980s, the per capita income in the newly-free countries was 11 times lower than that of the developed capitalist countries. The point is not only their relative poverty, but its effects: illiteracy and ignorance, chronic malnutrition and famine, staggering infant mortality figures, and diseases that strike hundreds of millions of people annually.

Such a situation is shameful for civilisation. Imperialism is the culprit in this crime. It is guilty not only from the historical perspective because the colonial plunder of entire continents has resulted in their extreme backwardness, but also from the point of view of present development. According to data provided by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, one of the largest financial organisations in the capitalist world, in 1985 the West pumped out from the developing countries 22 billion dollars more than it had during the previous year. The advanced capitalist countries turn the newly-free states into their raw material appendages, doing everything within their power to reduce the prices for these states' products and to boost prices for their own products, including foodstuffs. In 1986 many African states suffering from drought and crop failure were compelled to pay 14 per cent more for products imported from the West than they had paid in 1985.

It would be just to say that the imperialist system continues to exist mostly at the expense of the developing countries which it robs and mercilessly exploits. The forms and methods may change, but the essence of exploitation does not. It is not incidental that a large part of the USA's gross national income is made up of these sources. The developing countries are exploited by all the imperialist states, although US imperialism is the

most unceremonious in doing this. Non-equivalent exchange, inequitable trade, machinations and arbitrariness in fixing discount rates as well as the activities of the TNC all pursue the same aim. They increase the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor.

However the peoples of the newly-free countries are building up their resistance to the policy of plunder. In the international arena, these nations represent a rather distinct group. Despite certain differences in the levels of economic, social and political development, these states possess a number of common features and interests, i.e., a colonial or dependent past and the necessity to overcome its aftereffects; an acute contradiction between political independence and economic dependence; a commitment to increase their role in world politics and the world economy; and imperialism's attitude towards them as objects of neocolonial exploitation. The activities of these countries in the international arena merge with the general anti-imperialist struggle of nations for freedom, peace and social progress.

This enhances the role of anti-imperialist solidarity in the national liberation movement. The course of events confirms Lenin's words that "...in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect".[1]

History has proven that solidarity is vital to the successful development of the national liberation movement. Owing to the support of the socialist countries and the workers' and democratic movements in the citadels of capitalism, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, formerly engaged in an unequal battle with the oppressors who resorted to the "big stick" policy, have grown stronger.

The practically universal celebration of May Day, starting from the 1960s, the period of the disintegration of the colonial system in its last rampart—Black Africa—is a reflection of the importance of solidarity in the national liberation struggle. On this day of international labour solidarity workers, peasants, intellectuals and representatives of progressive-minded military circles appeal for the solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces against

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

neocolonialism, war, racism and apartheid. These are the demands of the national liberation movement.

Solidarity, which has been tested in the struggle for political liberation, continues to develop. Now it is needed to achieve economic independence and solve social and economic problems. That is why the appeals to struggle against famine, poverty and for equality in world trade and the new international economic order are becoming ever more widespread in the zones of the national liberation struggle.

The establishment of equal economic cooperation between the newly-free and socialist countries was instrumental in increasing the former's resistance to the economic pressure exerted by the imperialist states. At present imperialism cannot, as it did before, dictate the terms of its economic and technical activities in the newly-free countries which, encouraged by the new situation, have come out with an initiative to re-structure their international economic relations. They are determined to eliminate inequality in trading with the imperialist centres, so as to put an end to the barbarous exploitation of their natural and human resources by the imperialist monopolies and, primarily, the TNC.

The question of the newly-free countries' foreign debt which during recent years has reached the fantastic sum of one trillion dollars, has come to the foreground. Their annual debt payments amount to over 100 billion dollars, which compromises not only the long-term development programmes in these countries, but the economic ability to function in general. This problem has a political side, since the existence of the debt permits imperialism to attempt to establish global control over the social, economic and political policy of the developing countries. Thus, in return for a certain deferment of payment and renewed credits, the International Monetary Fund demands that they curtail their social programmes, freeze wages—in short create a favourable "investment climate" for capitalist monopolies.

The imperialist states are also opposed to the newly-free countries' efforts to bolster their economies by the "extraordinary measures" proposed at the Congress of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (New Delhi, 1983). Thus, the neo-colonialist forces actually obstructed the adoption of a code of conduct for the TNC and refused to convene a conference on foreign debts—something the developing countries insist upon. They wrecked the UN integrated programme on

raw materials on which a preliminary agreement had been reached, and in July 1985 the USA refused to participate in the common fund for stabilising the prices of primary commodities.

The Soviet Union has an essentially different approach to the problem. In January 1986 the USSR government sent a Memorandum to the United Nations: "International Economic Security of States: an Important Condition for the Improvement of International Economic Relations". The Memorandum stressed that the problem of the foreign debt was an integral part of the relationship between the developing countries and the West, and that it would be impossible to settle this problem unless international economic relations were reorganised on a just, equal and democratic basis. The solution calls for the reduction of interest rates on loans, the stabilisation of exchange rates, the preclusion of protectionism in trade, the restructuring of the international monetary system with due consideration given to all states, and the democratisation of its financial establishments. The Memorandum demanded that an end be put to the practice of exerting political pressure and interfering in the internal affairs of states experiencing financial difficulties.

Naturally, the struggle for the democratisation of international economic relations cannot supersede capitalism. However, its anti-imperialist orientation sets certain limits to the activities of the monopolies and the neocolonialist strategy of the TNC. Moreover, this struggle serves to promote anti-imperialist solidarity.

The non-aligned movement, which is objective anti-imperialist in nature, champions the goal of reorganising international economic relations. Advance in this direction is encouraged by a number of socialist countries, as well as by all states of socialist orientation. The progressive nature of the non-aligned movement evokes constant attempts by the imperialist circles to split its ranks and to nurture anti-socialist and anti-Soviet tendencies within the movement.

Most of the developing countries understand that the success of such attempts would hamper the realisation of the movement's historic goals and reduce its independence in international affairs. Therefore, it is no mere chance that during May Day celebrations in many countries of the national liberation zone, and firstly in those which have chosen the road of socialist orientation, slogans are put forth in support of the socialist countries'

foreign policies and peaceful initiatives.

The broad masses in the developing world are coming to realise the growing significance of anti-imperialist solidarity. Proof of this is the growing scope and popularity of May Day celebrations in the developing countries.

Even in those countries where it seems impossible to mark May Day and which are ruled by Right radical, dictatorial regimes, demonstrations held on this day become a notable event.

For instance, in Chile, Pinochet did everything possible to prevent mass actions by the working people on May 1st. He tried to make this holiday vapid, turning it into something symbolising the unity of the junta, labour and capital. In 1980 this fascist permitted the people to conduct only one May Day action and that under his control. However, contrary to Pinochet's plans, large demonstrations were held in Santiago and other cities.

Plastic bullets, rubber batons, teargas granades or water-guns cannot stop the increasing scope of May Day demonstrations. Over 250,000 people gathered on May 1st, 1984 in Santiago for a May Day rally. They carried portraits of Salvador Allende, chanted anti-fascist slogans and demanded the immediate resignation of Pinochet. There were clashes with the police, during which close to 100 people were wounded and over 120 were arrested.

In 1983 in Uruguay the reactionary military regime failed to prevent a 200,000-strong May Day demonstration in Montevideo which raised the mass movement against the dictatorship to a new level. The May Day demonstration conducted the next year was joined by twice as many people, and in November 1984 the military dictatorship in Uruguay ceased to exist.

Violent clashes took place between the police and the participants of a May Day demonstration held in Paraguay in 1986, the first during the 32-year rule of the bloody dictatorship headed by Stroessner. A mass rally was held in the centre of Asunción.

Therefore, during the present-day stage of the world process of social liberation, the goal set by the Second International has, in the main, been fulfilled. On one and the same day—May 1st—working people in the majority of countries demonstrate their unity and international solidarity in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Chapter III

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

1. Imperialism—Source of an Increased War Danger

May Day slogans and appeals have always evolved to reflect the major tasks of the international workers' movement at different historical stages. The early 1980s, when the US-led imperialist states abruptly changed their foreign-policy course, were no exception. In December 1979, NATO decided to deploy new US first-strike nuclear missiles in five West European countries. This marked the beginning of a policy directed towards eliminating detente, escalating the arms race, and attaining military superiority over the socialist countries.

In the early 1980s the US administration openly shifted its policy to one of confrontation, making a favourable development of Soviet-American relations impossible. All prior efforts to establish a basic minimal level of confidence between the two countries were thus rendered futile. Detente was proclaimed to be contrary to US interests.

Seeking military superiority over the USSR, the US administration launched nuclear and other rearmament programmes. Deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles began in Western Europe. The international climate became fraught with high military and political uncertainty and risk.

And, finally, appeared the Star Wars programme. Washington has become obsessed with this so-called Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), and is completely neglecting its potential consequences. Using weapons in outer space is extremely dangerous to every nation on the planet.

Although this plan will take decades to be realised, something, incidentally, only a handful of enthusiastic supporters believe, it holds extremely serious ramifications for the near future. Washington is intentionally moving ahead towards scrapping all existing arms limitation agreements by executing the Star Wars programme. If this happens the USSR, the USA, and their respective allies, the entire world will be thrown into an uncontrol-

lable arms race, chaos, instability, uncertainty and the growing fear of a catostrophe, and not in several decades, but within the next few years.

The Star Wars plan is based on the American concept of security being provided by military means. Furthermore, for all its talk of readiness to share its "wonder-technology" in "due time" with other countries, including the USSR, the USA actually intends to overcome the nuclear deadlock by itself. It is ready to put everyone else in a position of "absolute danger" in order to attain absolute security for itself. However, in the present day the US's security cannot be attained without attaining the security of the USSR, nor can the security of the NATO countries be attained without ensuring that of the Warsaw Treaty countries as well. And without mutual security there cannot be such a thing as universal security.

Mankind is faced with the threat of a new, unprecedented type of war, fraught with the destruction of the entire human civilisation.

It is up to all people of good will to safeguard peace and thwart the misanthropic imperialist plans. Solidarity in the struggle for peace is one of the most effective and reliable means available. Marx's conclusion that "...the union of the working classes of the different countries must ultimately make international wars impossible"[1] is truer today than ever before. The global threat has made the working class and its organisations aware of the vital importance of strengthening unity between all the contingents of the workers' movement in the anti-war struggle; although this alone is insufficient. Peace and stability can only be achieved by active, joint efforts of the various socio-political forces.

For solidarity of the peace-loving forces to acquire the only correct, i.e., anti-imperialist, orientation, nations must know who is to blame for the dangerous turn events took in the 1980s.

The militaristic ideologues in Washington and other NATO capitals realise truth can only harm their cause and have, therefore, been persistently spreading myths as to why the USA and some of its allies have stopped working towards detente and cooperation. These myths are supported by allegations of the "dramatically increased Soviet threat". If worse came to worse, the US

[1] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1985, p. 426.

would take responsibility for the sharp aggravation of international tensions, but only if the USSR does the same.

Herein lies the core of the argument that the state of international affairs would actually be more stable if the "two superpowers stopped competing for world supremacy". The Soviet Union is neither seeking to place itself above other governments and nations or to dictate to them its will. It does not participate in competition of any sort, be it for markets or mineral resources, control over air and shipping routes, or domination in outer space.

Yes, the Soviet Union is one of the world's two mightiest powers. The question is: which political aims does this might serve. Those who refer to the "two superpowers" theory should give some thought as to what the fate of many independent countries would have been and the fate of the world in general had the USSR been weaker and had the Soviet people not contributed so much effort and material resources to maintaining their country's economic and military potential on an adequate level.

The dangerous shift that has taken place in the foreign policy of imperialist countries is of a deeper and more serious nature than advocates of the military-industrial complex present to the general public. By the late 1970s disagreement within the ruling circles of imperialist countries had greatly sharpened. This was an opposition between, as Lenin put it, "...the gross-bourgeois, aggressive-bourgeois, reactionary-bourgeois camp"[1] and those capitalists who realistically saw how class forces in the contemporary world operate, who are interested in a working world economic relationship. The conflict was started by the most aggressive military-industrial groups. A situation is developing in the USA where it is not the government that controls arms manufacture, but vice versa.

In response to panicky outcries of an "armament lag" and "the Soviet threat", the US military-industrial complex drained the American taxpayers of one trillion dollars from 1945 to 1980. From 1980 to 1985 it absorbed another trillion. Now it is ready to take in new trillions from the Star Wars project, guaranteeing excess profits for 30 years to come. Asking the military monopolies to back down from SDI would be like asking permission to blow up Wall Street. Imperialism relies on the mili-

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, 1971, p. 403.

tary-industrial complex for a number of reasons.

First of all, against a background of crisis going on in capitalist economies, the strengthening of socialist economies and socio-political positions seems ever noticeable. That is why the ruling imperialist circles have come to realise that their hopes for detente "undermining" world socialism are nothing more than an illusion.

"Anti-detente" supporters see detente as a one-way street which supposedly only the socialist countries used to their advantage, and have developed various means of undermining their economic strength, i.e., intensifying and expanding the arms race, imposing various embargoes and sanctions and limiting economic ties between countries with opposing social systems.

Secondly, the imperialist ruling circles are fully aware that in view of swelling unemployment and sharp allocation cuts in social-welfare programmes, the workers' movement presents a tremendous potential threat to them.

The imperialist ruling circles are using economic militarisation and the arms race as an instrument of sorts to conduct the class struggle "from the top". Attempting to catalyse the ideological and political fight between imperialism and socialism, they distort the truth as to its real causes and are appealing to all classes in capitalist societies to unite in the face of the "growing threat from the East". This provides them with a pretext to strike out against workers' and democratic movements and to repress peace movement around the world.

Furthermore, imperialist leaders are well aware of the fact that an atmosphere of the "war threat" psychosis helps breed chauvinistic and nationalistic feelings not only among the petty-bourgeois elements but also, to a certain extent, among the working class. Which, naturally, does not further the growth of proletarian solidarity.

Thirdly, the processes now taking place in developing countries are increasing anxiety among the bourgeois leadership. And now when the citadels of capital depend so much upon raw materials from former colonies and satellite countries, the continual growth of anti-imperialist movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America threatens to seriously hinder the workings of their economic machinery. Capitalist governments refuse to relinquish their economic hold as far as these former colonies and satellite countries are concerned.

The failure of US aggression in South-East Asia, the

final collapse of the colonial system, the emergence of socialist-oriented countries in the developing world and the further spread of national liberation movements are all regarded by the imperialist circles as the "harmful" influence of detente.

Fourthly, aggressive American imperialists are using the alleged "Soviet war threat" in an attempt to convince their allies to undertake large military expenditures although this would weaken their own economies and give the US an edge in the world market vis-a-vis Japanese and West European competitors. Using this tension to applying political pressure plays no minor role in making the allies more compliant and subservient to Washington.

Fifthly, the recurring crises in the capitalist economy threaten the existence of some large monopolistic corporations and could mean bankruptcy for their owners as well. Representatives of consumer goods monopolies are fundamentally interested in developing international economic ties, in expanding detente, and maintaining the general public's purchasing power on a high level. Yet, given the conditions of today even they are casting a greedy eye at the war industry. After all, under certain conditions subsidising military projects is more profitable than subsidising non-military projects. These "certain conditions" give rise to the military-industrial complexes and the political administrative forces that are necessary to keep them in place. Alfred Krupp, known as the "Cannon King", was not far off the mark when in pre-World War I days he said that every firm must create a demand for its products.

The demand for military products rises as a result of several factors: aggravation of international tensions, war hysteria, propagation of myths of "a threat from the East" and "Soviet military superiority", instigation of regional conflicts, etc. The demand for arms and ammunition increases, as does their cost, thus ensuring superprofits. That is in civilian and "mixed" firms militarisation is not only a temptation, but, in a number of cases, the only way to avoid bankruptcy. The owners then start creating a demand for the products of their reoriented enterprises which, in the end, results in a change in the balance of power within the bourgeoisie.

The TNC have been very effective in creating a demand for military products. The corporations which are a part of the military-industrial complex take advantage of their virtual ex-territoriality. Conflicts, enmity, and hatred arise, and countries find themselves forced

into an arms race. This provides the TNC with the opportunity to test their military products in action.

The sharp change in the international policy of imperialism at the end of the 1970s was an extremely destructive one. Now, given the uniqueness of modern weaponry, even the most technically advanced military defence system is not sufficient to guarantee national security. An arms race is now impossible to win, let alone a nuclear war. Continuing the arms race on Earth and extending it into space, will just accelerate stockpiling and the modernisation of nuclear and other types of weapons. Eventually, parity will longer be a major factor in military and political containment. Therefore, security is more and more being seen as a political problem which can only be solved by political means.

It is only imperialism that can be held responsible for the wars and conflicts of our century. It has instigated the arms race, spurring it forward and even made it branch out in new directions. However, the need to secure self-preservation on the planet is forcing peoples of different countries to undertake joint actions. The course of history has created the necessary material, social and political prerequisites for this.

That is why the new edition of the Programme of the CPSU reads, in part: "The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome. But then the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace have never been so real. By uniting their efforts the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

"The aggressive policy of imperialism is being countered by the growing potential of peace. This means the vigorous and consistently peaceful policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defensive capacity. This means the policy of the overwhelming majority of states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have a vital interest in safeguarding peace and ending the arms race. This means the anti-war movements of the broadest mass of the people on all continents, movements that have become a long-lasting and influential factor in the life of society. A realistic assessment of the actual alignment of forces is leading many statesmen and politicians in capitalist states, too, to an understanding of the danger involved in continuing and extending the arms race.

"The CPSU proceeds from the belief that, however grave the threat to peace posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism, *world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind*

from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world."

It is obvious that sensible solutions will not be found on the path of war. Now, when huge nuclear stockpiles have accumulated and experts are calculating how many times mankind can be annihilated, perhaps it is time to stop balancing on the edge of war and begin to establish a normal civilised relationship between capitalist and socialist countries. On May Day many appeals will be made for peace and united actions on the part of all peace-loving forces throughout the world.

2. Socialism in the Vanguard of the Peace-Loving Forces

On May Day people in the socialist countries, which lead the world's peace movement come out and demonstrate with the following slogans: "People of all countries! Combat the war threat! Fight for the end to the arms race and for the creation of a comprehensive international security system!"; "Peoples of the world! Fight against the imperialist war threat! Campaign for the complete prohibition of nuclear testing!" "We shall not allow the militarisation of space!"; "Peoples in Asia! Join forces and fight for security, cooperation, and neighbourly relations in Asia, and in the Pacific region!"; "Peoples in Europe! Support peaceful cooperation and good-neighbourly relations among states, detente and the establishment of a reliable security sytem in Europe!"; "Peoples all around the world! Fight against imperialism's policy of aggression and violence! Strive to eliminate the source of the military threat!".

Socialism would not have fulfilled its historical mission if it had not led the struggle to rid mankind of the military tension and violence. Peace for everyone is its ultimate policy goal. The Soviet Union did not initiate even one round of the arms race. It only created certain weapons systems in response to actions taken by the other side, solely to preserve its own security, and the security of its allies and friends.

As far back as in 1946 the Soviet Union proposed to permanently ban nuclear weapons. This proposal still holds, as do those which suggested prohibiting all means of mass annihilation; reducing and destroying accumulated stockpiles of such weapons, and reducing conventional arms and armed forces.

It is not the fault of the Soviet Union that these constructive proposals have not yet been realised; the USA and other NATO countries are to be blamed. It's because of their refusal to follow the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic's example of pledging not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, that the threat of nuclear warfare still looms over mankind.

However, thanks to efforts taken by socialist countries and other peace-loving forces some agreements and treaties have been concluded that will slow down the arms race. These were the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (Moscow, 1963), the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and SALT-1 signed in 1972 and SALT-2 signed in 1979. These treaties, instrumental in ensuring strategic stability, were concluded because the American leadership and Western countries at that time were politically realistic.

The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence is the cornerstone of socialist countries' policy vis-a-vis capitalist countries. The new edition of the Programme of the CPSU stresses: "The policy of peaceful coexistence as understood by the CPSU presupposes: renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputed issues, and the settlement of such issues through negotiations; non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the legitimate interests of each other; the right of the peoples independently to decide their own destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit; fulfilment in good faith of commitments arising from generally recognised principles and norms of international law and from international treaties concluded."

The socialist countries view peaceful co-existence much more broadly than the mere absence of war: cooperation and friendly inter-governmental relations, extensive international exchange of the latest cultural, scientific, and technical advancements; the reallocation of tremendous amounts of resources wasted on defence to solve global problems such as famine, poverty, and disease.

The fate of the world must not be placed in the hands of imperialism; the imperialist reactionary forces must not be allowed to force intensified military and

political confrontation upon mankind. In socialist countries the general opinion is that this could lead to a nuclear war.

The Soviet people are proud of the fact that it was their government who initially offered a programme to rid mankind of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986, USSR foreign-policy initiatives presented in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, and proposals made by the USSR after the Congress, have given people new hope.

This comprehensive plan provides for the complete world-wide elimination of nuclear weapons, to be implemented under strict international control. It also envisages the destruction of chemical weaponry stockpiles, and the dismantling of industrial plant for its production. Non-nuclear weapons that are constructed according to new physical principles and that have a comparable destructive capacity to other weapons of mass annihilation are to be prohibited as well. New proposals on conventional arms reduction in Europe from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals have supplemented those already made by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear test-bans have become an especially pressing problem in part due to the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station, which showed that even a minor discharge of radioactive agents can be disastrous for thousands of people. The nuclear accident at Chernobyl, among other cases when the atom escaped man's control, should serve as a serious warning as to the danger of nuclear catastrophe to those who continue to regard nuclear weapons as a political instrument. Nuclear tests are an important part of the Star Wars programme. In order to check the arms race in outer space prohibiting these tests is vital. The Star Wars programme is incompatible with the spirit of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

The policy of the socialist countries goes beyond the denunciation of plans to militarise outer space: it extends to constructively cooperating in space exploration. The USSR has advanced a programme for the joint use of outer space that would be in the interest of every nation. The Soviet Union's "star peace" programme was made with the full conviction that with it human civilisation must enter the 21st century and not with the reckless Star Wars programme.

The USSR's and other socialist countries' peaceful

initiatives are realistic firstly because they are not aimed at reaching any unilateral advantages for the Soviet Union and its allies; and secondly because they are in conformity with the vital interests of all nations. They are in strict compliance with the idea presented by the 27th Party Congress on creating a comprehensive system of international security which would incorporate all aspects of present-day security: military, political, economic and humanitarian.

In the military sphere "The Foundations for the Creation of a Comprehensive International Security System" provide for, in particular, a refusal on the part of powers having nuclear capability to conduct war, both nuclear and conventional, against each other or a third power; the barring of the arms race in outer space, the halting of all nuclear tests and elimination of nuclear weapons; prohibition and elimination of chemical weaponry.

In the political sphere it provides for a strict respect for every nation's right to sovereignty and independent development; measures for strengthening confidence among states, reliable guarantees against aggression, and the inviolability of borders; working out effective measures for preventing international terrorism.

The foundations of economic security are of much importance since they imply a refusal of any discrimination, blockades or sanctions, a just settlement of the problem of debts, and the establishment of new international economic order.

The humanitarian aspect calls for objective information which would help people of different nations to know more about each other's lives; for strengthening the spirit of mutual understanding, concord, and constructive cooperation; for eradicating genocide, apartheid and propaganda of fascism, racism and religious superiority.

The Foundations for the Creation of a Comprehensive International Security System are a new word in world politics. They open broad vistas for the fruitful activities of all governments, parties, public organisations and movements concerned about the fate of mankind. The necessary prerequisites for the leaders of states to conduct systematic direct dialogues—both bilateral and multilateral, have been created. Such a dialogue is most important between the permanent members of the UN Security Council—the five nuclear powers—which are especially responsible for the preservation of peace.

The foreign-policy programme of the socialist countries has absorbed quite a number of ideas and initiatives

which belong to all peace-loving people. Their practical implementation to a great degree depends on the public movements, trends and organisations, on the ability of people of various ideological views to come to an understanding of the key issues regarding war and peace, and on their cooperation and joint actions.

The socialist countries are ready to do everything possible to radically change the international situation for the better. To do this there is no need for them to give up their principles or ideals. A peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries is a natural phenomenon, one that is in full conformity with their social essence. In countries where private ownership of the means of production is non-existent, there are no classes, social groups or individuals interested in the arms race and in aggravating international tension for any material, political or ideological reasons. Of course, the socialist countries have a defence industry and army. However, neither the workers, nor the heads of defence enterprises and armies derive any personal profit from war preparations. And if it were possible to abolish armies and military production, society as a whole and each member would only stand to gain.

The growth of military expenditures has a negative effect on the creative endeavour of the working people of the socialist world hampering their advance towards communism.

The allotment of considerable resources to defence needs makes it difficult to attain the full potential of the socialist system.

The peace movement in the socialist countries has virtually become a common cause of all its people. Its participants enthusiastically support the Soviet peaceful initiatives and call upon peace campaigners in all countries to double their efforts directed towards the final elimination of the nuclear threat.

Along with anti-war rallies, "peace work shifts" (the money earned during these shifts is transferred to the Soviet Peace Fund) are a wide-spread form practised by the Soviet people in their support for peace. For example, these funds were used for sponsoring events held in the USSR in the framework of the International Year of Peace and also for conducting the Week of Action in May 1986 against war, stressing European security and cooperation. Participants of these mass actions sent the US President telegrams, letters and appeals protesting the US administration's refusal to pay attention to Soviet peace-

ful initiatives. The Soviet youth took an active part in the Week's events. Peace marches and anti-war rallies were held in many cities of the USSR. Over 50 million Soviet people took part in the Week of Action.

As of today, 90 million people have donated a part of their earnings to the Soviet Peace Fund. This refutes the assertion frequently made in the West that the activities of the Soviet anti-war movement are subsidised by the government. All donations to the Peace Fund are made voluntarily. Besides the Fund, youth and trade union organisations and artistic unions have their own separate funds for the peace movement.

The conditions under which the peace movements develop in the capitalist countries differ radically from those in the socialist countries. Joining the ranks of peace champions in most of the Western countries calls for much courage, since it means a chance of running into conflict with the government and its powerful repressive apparatus. Proof to this are the numerous trials of peace activists in the USA, Great Britain, the FRG and other NATO countries.

Moreover, under present conditions which are characterised by mass unemployment, participation in the peace movement is fraught with dangerous consequences such as being dismissed from work. People championing for peace face another danger—they fall victims to numerous activities of Right extremist organisations that resort to terrorism in subverting the forces of peace and progress. Finally, there is a factor of ideological pressure which bourgeois mass media exert on the peace-loving forces.

In the socialist countries the mass anti-war movement is fully supported by the government and public organisations. This proves the democratic nature of their political systems which involve the people in spheres of foreign policy. Lenin noted: "... a state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously."[1] The peace movement in the socialist countries demonstrates that people not only participate in conducting the foreign policy, but in forming it as well.

The following two examples show how a proposal by the public anti-war movement was adopted as a law. In 1951, on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee, a law was passed prohibiting propaganda of war in any

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256.

form, making it a grave criminal offence. Does any Western country have such a law? Not a single one! But, they do have open manifestations of racism, chauvinism, fascism and national hatred. While from 1982, at the initiative of Soviet public organisations, every new school year begins with "a lesson on peace".

Wide public participation in politics disturbs only those who nurture secret aggressive plans. Incidentally, there have been many cases in the West when anti-war movements supported their governments' progressive policy lines. Thus, in 1972 mass actions in the FRG defeated the opposition which planned to block agreements to promote good-neighbour relations with the socialist countries. Such examples can also be found in Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Greece and New Zealand.

Therefore, the independence of any given peace movement is determined by the course it pursues and not by its relationship with the government. As a result of the masses' concern for detente and cooperation the position of the peace movement in the capitalist countries and that of the people and governments of the socialist countries coincide in regard to peace and disarmament. This solidarity of all the peace-loving forces, regardless of their ideological and political views, class affiliation and social system, is unacceptable to those who regard the unity of the peace-loving forces as the chief obstacle to realising their adventurist plans.

Peace champions in the socialist countries stand shoulder to shoulder with millions of people of all countries in their struggle for peace and life, and against the threat of nuclear war. That is why at May Day rallies they demonstrate their support of peace and cooperation among all peace-loving forces.

3. The Leading Anti-War Force of the Capitalist World

The peace-loving forces in the citadels of capitalism become especially active during May Day celebrations. Following are but a few examples taken from newspaper reports of the mid-1980s.

Stormy demonstrations took place in Vancouver, Canada, on May 1, 1984, with close to 115,000 participating in a May Day Peace March. They protested against the US-Canadian military treaty that allowed the US to test its cruise missiles on Canadian territory. A similar

mass march was also held in Toronto.

On the same day, rallies in support of peace and the working people's rights were held in 1,200 cities and settlements in Japan with close to four million people taking part. The main rally was held for the 55th time in Yoyogi Park in Tokyo and it had 300,000 participants.

Rallies and demonstrations to mark May Day were held in the cities and towns in West Germany. The prevailing slogans were "Down with Missiles!", "Down with Mass Unemployment!", and "No to American Imperialism!".

Tens of thousands of people in Paris marched through the Grands Boulevards, carrying banners with slogans advanced by the General Confederation of Labour: "No to the Nuclear threat!", "No to Mass Dismissals!", "Peace and Jobs!".

May Day demonstrations held in 1985 in the capitalist world were just as active. A national strike was called in Greece and mass demonstrations took place in many cities throughout the country. A large rally was held in Athens. Its banners read: "No to the 'Common Market' of the Monopolies!", "Down with US Military Bases!", "Peace, Jobs, Disarmament!".

A mass meeting was held on May 1, 1985 on Union Square in New York City. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, the ugliest manifestation of monopoly capital, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, spoke of the Soviet people's decisive role in the victory.

May Day demonstrations in Tokyo, held under banners for peace and against the government's participation in the USA's aggressive strategic plans, drew 4.2 million. A 300,000-strong rally in Tokyo adopted a resolution against the arms race.

In 1986 a mass demonstration held on Union Square in New York City marked the 100th anniversary of the international holiday of peace and labour.

Large meetings and demonstrations were held that day in Italy. The working people came out against the arms race and in defence of their basic rights and democratic gains. They were organised by the country's leading trade union associations—the General Union of Italian Workers, the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions, and the Italian Labour Union. The participants expressed their resolution to combat the aggressive, militaristic plans that threatened mankind's existence. They condemned the American plans for militarising outer space, as well as Washington's policy of working up tension in

the Mediterranean region.

"Peace, Solidarity, Social Justice"—were the catchwords of the many-thousand-strong May Day demonstrations that swept 70 cities and rural communities in Portugal.

A mass demonstration held in Madrid, and organised by the Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions and the National Confederation of Labour, carried the following banners: "Peace, Employment!", "Down with American Bases!", "Solidarity with the Peoples of Nicaragua and Libya!"

A large rally was held on Senatti Tori, Helsinki's central square. Various political organisations called upon all the working people of the world to consolidate international solidarity in their struggle for peace, detente, disarmament and social progress. The demonstration stressed that the proposals advanced by the Soviet Union to turn Europe into a nuclear-free zone, as well as the Soviet programme for establishing a comprehensive system of international security, were in the interests of all of mankind.

The growth of the anti-war movement in the capitalist countries in the 1980s is an established fact. Before the movement acquired a mass nature, it was made up of traditional anti-militaristic, pacifist, youth and students' organisations. Many political and non-political workers' organisations of a social-reformist orientation displayed either a negative attitude towards the movement or simply ignored it.

In time, the social and political basis of the peace movement began to expand. General democratic and anti-war organisations began to work in contact; women's organisations became much more active in the movement; professional anti-war organisations (of doctors, teachers, lawyers, etc.) appeared and gained strength; local anti-war organisations became widespread. The peace movement increased considerably as a result of the peace-supporting activities of large religious organisations.

The anti-war movement is characterised at its present-day stage by the working class's ever-increasing role in it. Proof of this is the upsurge in a number of capitalist countries of the working-class movement for peace based at enterprise level, the intensification of its anti-war activities and positive changes in the attitudes to the movement of a number of reformist trade unions and parties of a social-democratic orientation, as well as the establishment of close cooperation between the working

class and the other contingents of the anti-war movement.

The appearance of workers' peace organisations at large enterprises is one of the most important developments in today's anti-war movement. Thus, presently over 300 factory peace committees are active in the FRG. In Italy factory councils and grass-root trade union organisations at the various enterprises have come to the forefront in the workers' struggle for peace. In Finland the Industrial Peace Committee has been established, uniting peace activists employed at industrial enterprises. It holds annual national meetings and impressive anti-war demonstrations.

It is hard to overestimate the activities of the factory peace committees. Firstly, they are active in the midst of the working class, a focal point of the anti-war movement. Secondly, they clearly prove a close link exists between the struggle against the arms race and the struggle against unemployment. Thirdly, the workers express through factory peace committees their desires to safeguard peace, to unite all the anti-war forces and to coordinate their activities. This cannot be overlooked by the leadership of the reformist trade unions.

The participation of working people in anti-militaristic actions in the capitalist countries have shown that noticeable changes have taken place in their social consciousness in regard to the problems of war and peace. Thus they prompt the trade unions, especially those which had been previously indifferent towards the peace movement, to join it. To varying degrees, these tendencies exist in all major capitalist countries.

Indicative in this context is the notable shift in the policies of the Association of German Trade Unions with regard to the anti-war movement. From its official ban on the trade unions' participation in the anti-war movement in 1981, the FRG's major trade union centre proceeded to the establishment of cooperation with the peace-loving forces in 1983. At present the Association has come out against the American Star Wars plans which undermine the existing strategic balance of forces and escalate the arms race to an unprecedented degree. The Association demands that the West German government stays out of Washington's venture.

Even the leaders of large rightist national trade union centres in the capitalist countries, in particular the AFL-CIO are now in the process of revising their position on the issues of war and peace. Even though they at times

try to influence the development of the American trade union movement in such a way as to oppose a threat of an alleged foreign enemy. Yet, they still cannot help but feel the pressure growing from not only the rank-and-file trade union members and primary organisations, but from the leaders of some large trade union branches, as well as members of the Federation's Executive Committee.

In October 1983, the AFL-CIO Congress adopted a resolution calling for a nuclear arms freeze. In 1985 the American trade unions received wide support from all working people in their campaign in 60 cities under the slogan: "Jobs with peace!" Even in Los Angeles, where one-fifth of the American aerospace industry employees work, and which basically engage in the war industry, half a million people supported this action.

The present position of the American International Association of Machinists is of interest as many of its members are employed in defence plants. One of its documents states, in part: "...the economic consequences of buying more weapons will be substantial. Jobs investment and economic growth will be sacrificed. Technological progress will be distorted. And social programmes aimed at decreasing human suffering will be cut... Expanded military spending will not help solve our unemployment problem... Social costs will also be high."

At its 112th Congress in 1980 the British Trades Union Congress came out against NATO's "additional armament" plans and the intention to deploy US cruise missiles in England. The trade unions work hand in hand with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the country's major anti-war organisation. The trade unions which support this organisation have a combined membership of over 6 million. They stand for curbing the arms race and for the reconversion of the war industry. Thus, in 1984, they held a conference titled "A Better Future for Defence Jobs". In 1985 the National Trade Union Defence Conversion Committee undertook a number of initiatives including its proposal for a peaceful alternative to the Trident Programme, the country's largest defence programme. This proposal was widely supported. The Greater London Council proposed that a council on conversion be created with branches in all defence plants.

In Italy the anti-war activities of trade unions gained momentum after the first American cruise missiles were deployed there. Even after the split of the General Federation of Trade Unions in February 1984, the three lead-

ing trade union centres—the General Union of Italian Workers, the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions and the Italian Labour Union—continued to work jointly for peace and disarmament.

The trade union movement plays a special role in the campaign for peace in Japan. It is directed against the resurgents of militarism in the country and against their intention to transform Japan into the USA's unsinkable aircraft carrier. Over 80 million signatures were collected demanding to outlaw nuclear weapons and prevent a new war. This campaign was conducted with the participation of the Japanese trade unions and, primarily, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO).

In France the scale and direction of the anti-war activity of such reformist trade union centres as the French Democratic Confederation of Labour and the Force Ouvrière still lag behind today's demands. Nevertheless, here, too, a realisation is spreading of the deep-rooted ties between the intensification of the arms race and the deteriorating social and economic conditions of the working people.

In Canada a national coalition of peace champions has evolved. The Communists, the New Democratic Party and the basic trade union centres join forces to demand an end to cruise missiles testing in Canada. They call for transforming the country into a nuclear-free zone, to refrain from militarising outer space, to adopt measures that would lead to nuclear and conventional disarmament and a return to detente. The use of traditional proletarian methods such as strikes in their anti-war campaigns is indicative of the extent to which the idea of the need to do everything possible to safeguard peace and check the arms race has taken root even among the reformist trade union centres. A precautionary work stoppage by the working people of the FRG on October 5, 1983 to protest the planned deployment of US Euro-missiles, turned into a short general political strike.

Six months later (on May 10, 1984) in response to an appeal by the "No to Cruise Missiles!" Committee and the Netherlands' Federation of Trade Unions, the leading trade union centre of the country, a 15-minute work stoppage was called in which close to 750,000 persons participated within the framework of the Week of Action against the deployment of new US missiles in Netherlands. This is a truly impressive figure for a small country.

At noon on October 24, 1985 many industrial enter-

prises and offices stopped work in Denmark as close to one million employees responded to an appeal by the Central Confederation of Trade Unions and other national organisations for a "peace strike" to express support of detente, disarmament and the creation of nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe. "A nuclear-free Denmark today and always!" is the demand of the peace-loving forces there.

The success of the anti-war activities carried out by the trade unions of various political orientations depends on their concerted actions. The World Federation of Trade Unions has repeatedly called upon the World Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the General Confederation of Labour to join forces in order to stop the arms race and to induce the governments to sign a treaty on disarmament. However, while admitting the gravity of the impending danger brought about by the incessant arms build-up, the latter two have not been mobilising its members to joint action, although at its 13th Congress held in the summer of 1983 the World Confederation of Free Trade Unions stated that the working people and their various organisations demand that the campaign for peace become the highest political priority.

International forums convened to discuss the pressing problems of the contemporary trade union movement have done much to establish anti-war international solidarity among trade unions of various political orientations. Such was the First World Trade Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament held in Paris in December 1981. The Conference called upon the working people of the world and their organisations to put aside all their differences to join the campaign for peace.

The International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament, known as the Dublin Committee after the city in which it was founded in May 1982 as an outcome of the above-mentioned Paris Conference, the Committee has coordinated anti-war actions in the world trade union movement. Trade union representatives from the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, Japan, France, India, Algeria and other countries were among its organisers. The Committee has gained recognition and prestige among the broad circles of the peace-loving public through its fruitful activities.

The Second World Trade Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament, held in Dublin in May 1986, has become a notable event. Trade union

representatives from nearly 50 countries took part. The participants were unanimous in that the line between war and peace now has become too thin for any further balancing at, while the burden of social and economic after-effects of the arms race is too heavy to put up with it any longer.

The delegates adopted a final resolution, "For a World Economy Without an Arms Race", as well as a special declaration which outlined measures to further mobilise the trade union movement for an active struggle against the growing military threat. Both of these documents stress the fact that under present conditions the trade unions' drive to defend the social and economic gains of the working people and to eliminate economic backwardness, hunger, diseases and illiteracy is closely linked to the vital tasks of stopping the fatal process of stockpiling weapons in the world. The Declaration notes that this process, whipped up by the military-industrial complex, threatens to become irreversible. That is why the trade unions and the progressive-minded public must concentrate their efforts on consolidating the anti-war coalition. The Soviet Peace Programme was highly praised at the Conference.

The changed attitude of great masses of working people towards the issue of war and peace and disarmament is apparent both at shop-floor level and in trade-union centres. This shift was instrumental in transforming military and political conceptions in the social-democratic and socialist parties and modifying their relations with the anti-war movement. A line of demarcation has become noticeable between the rightist parties and the social-democratic movement in respect to the imperialist foreign policy.

In the late 1970s the Communists were the only political parties in Western Europe to come out against NATO's military and political strategy. Today an overwhelming majority of social-democratic and socialist parties oppose a policy of increasing international tensions, deploying US first-strike nuclear missiles and the militarisation of space.

Thus, the Finnish and Scandinavian social-democrats are campaigning to create a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe. The Greek socialists have proposed valuable anti-war initiatives. The British Labour Party has approved a programme calling for the renunciation of nuclear weapons and eliminating all US nuclear military bases. The list could be continued.

Progressive developments in the social-democrats' platform further the involvement of the many-million strong reformist wing of the working-class movement in anti-war activities. This may substantially influence CFTU policies, thus promoting the much-needed solidarity of all working people and all democratic forces in the campaign for peace and disarmament on a world-wide scale. The results of the Socialist International Conference on Disarmament held in Vienna in October 1985 prove this. The Conference in a way continued along the policy lines established at the first meeting of social-democratic parties, held to discuss disarmament in Helsinki in April 1978. The world situation had changed since then and had grown more threatening, but, at the same time, the desire of millions of people to ward off the war danger has also increased. Their demands have brought up for discussion an increasing number of issues.

In 1978 delegations from 20 countries attended the Conference; in 1985 social-democrats, socialists and labourites from close to 50 countries in all five continents gathered for the meeting. In order to make the discussion more meaningful and to better present the position of the various nations, movements and organisations, now playing a leading role in international affairs, the organisers of the Vienna Conference invited representatives from the USSR, the USA, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the People's Republic of China and several other nations.

Many participants noted that the struggle for peace and disarmament was an extremely complex one, while others had a pessimistic view of the prospects for peace-keeping activities. However, due largely to the programme and concrete proposals for improving the international situation advanced by the Soviet Union, a realistic view of the issue of preserving and promoting peace finally prevailed.

Non-militarisation of outer space was the focal point of the Conference. Not a single speaker representing the parties of the Socialist International supported the plan for the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative drawn up by the White House.

The opinions of the participants differed in many ways so naturally, sharp discussion took place. However, positions on approaches to the key issues coincided. These included the demand to eliminate the military threat, to curb the arms race and to cement foundations for peace and cooperation.

The Conference adopted the Vienna Appeal of the Socialist International which stressed that the continuing stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction threatens the very existence of life on Earth and, therefore, it is in the interest of mankind to put an end to the arms race. The Appeal also noted that the Socialist International is especially concerned about the danger of spreading the arms race into space and it rejects the USA's Strategic Defence Initiative, as well as all similar concepts.

Such a coincidence of views on a vast range of questions provides opportunities for cooperation between the communist and the social-democratic parties. It also proves that ideological differences cannot prevent nations from entering a dialogue and establishing an understanding in regard to the peace effort of the various contingents of workers' and democratic movements.

The Communists, who are still the most consistent fighters against oppression and exploitation of man by man, believe that their primary task at the present is the struggle for peace, for the preservation of civilisation, and for man's fundamental right—the right to live. With the aim of promoting anti-war solidarity, the Communists consider it their duty to conduct a patient discussion with their partners, even if their views differ on many key issues. The Communists refute the allegation made by the enemies of anti-war soidarity that they are striving to dominate the peace movement. The Communists' activities are consistently aimed at consolidating the peace movement forces, enhancing their prestige among the many democratic circles in the West.

Today bourgeois politicians and ideologues prefer to overlook the advance the working class and its organisations have made to the forefront of the movement for peace in the developed capitalist countries, although they are perfectly aware that the working class is the main obstacle to the arms race and military hysteria. That is why myths are disseminated to convince the working class that NATO's present military and political course will ensure security and provide new jobs by expanding the war industry.

Such propaganda is often successful. Many people in the capitalist countries are employed or intend to become employed in the war industry. Also many young people solve their employment or education problems by enlisting in the army or enrolling in military schools. In this way they become the ones whose ideas are contrary to those of peace.

Nevertheless, the working class is coming to play an increasing role in the peace movement in the West—this is a matter of fact. Although the interaction between the working class and other peace organisations has not yet developed to the full, the effect of the mass movement for peace, solidarity and cooperation among all its supporters will depend, to a great degree, on the extent of the working class' peaceful activities.

Only by overcoming obstacles, disunity and prejudice within its ranks will the mainstream of the peace movement gain strength and exert an increasing influence on international politics.

4. The Chief Condition for Complete National Liberation

On gaining political independence and freedom, the newly-free nations begin to combat economic backwardness and extend their sovereignty. Their successes in this field evoke a characteristic response from the world reactionary forces. The New Edition of the CPSU Programme notes, in particular: "As the course of historical development more and more weakens the positions of imperialism, the policy of its more reactionary forces becomes increasingly hostile to the interests of the peoples. Imperialism is putting up fierce resistance to social progress, and is trying to stop the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism, and to avenge itself socially on a world scale."

Imperialism, and primarily American imperialism will stop at nothing in its attempt to take vengeance on the developing countries for its defeat there. It resorts to economic sabotage, political provocations and direct military pressure, justifying these measures by its hastily concocted doctrine of neoglobalism.

This doctrine disregards the accepted norms of international relations and justifies encroachments on the sovereignty of other states. Thus, under the pretext of "self-defence", of protecting "democracy" and "the values of civilisation", the USA has assumed the right to determine which governments of the newly-free states are "legal" and which are not. In regard to the latter the USA considers it possible to resort to blackmail, it supports various subversive and terrorist groups and even uses its armed forces to remove disagreeable governments.

The US policy of waging a large-scale offensive against the newly-free nations of Asia, Africa and Latin

America is clearly revealed in its effort to preserve the existing "hot spots" in the world and to create new hotbeds of tension. It is common knowledge that regional conflicts in a nuclear age are dangerous, for they can degenerate into an all-destructive war.

The US administration, which is used to operating by such policy categories as "spheres of interest", presents the problem of regional conflicts as rivalry between East and West. In our day this is an anachronism, a throwback to an imperial way of thinking which denies most nations the right to solve their problems by themselves.

The sources of these conflicts lie partly in history and, mainly, in those social and economic conditions in which the newly-free countries have been placed. There is reason why in referring to the problems of regional conflicts the USA says nothing about the atrocities of apartheid in South Africa, about the latter's aggression against its neighbours, about the wars waged by US-controlled puppet governments in Central America and South-East Asia, about Israel's aggression in the Middle East.

Washington openly aspires to be the coordinator of all the foes of the national liberation movement, their supplier and banker. It is ready to render extensive aid to the *dushmans* of Afghanistan, to the UNITA bandits in Angola, to the South African racists and to the Israeli aggressors.

However, all US attempts to export counter-revolution, which impede the national liberation movement's advancement, are doomed. The historical progress of the newly-free countries does not and will not depend on the wishes of the US administration and on the self-interested policy of the military-industrial complex or the TNC. Just as it failed to block the people's revolutions in China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Cuba, it will be unable to once again enslave the peoples of Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Libya and Nicaragua. No one can make the Palestinian people renounce their legal national rights, or to stop the patriots of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle for independence, against racism and colonialism.

Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that the policy of "neoglobalism" and state terrorism are still being implemented, as are the strategies of diktat and neocolonialism. By stirring up regional conflicts, the imperialist forces, headed by the USA, also resort to another method of increasing neocolonial dependence: they

draw the newly-free states into the arms race. As was noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress: "...there is an irrefutable causal connection between the trillion-sized debt of these (developing—*A.K.*) countries and the more than trillion-sized growth of US military expenditures in the past ten years. The 200-odd billion dollars that are being annually pumped out of the developing countries and the practically equal size of the US military budget in recent years, are no coincidence. That is why militarism has a direct stake in maintaining and tightening the system of neocolonial super-exploitation."

The countries located in the zone of national liberation have limited means which make it impossible for them to simultaneously achieve complete national liberation and increase military expenditures. The total sum of the newly-free countries' military expenditures have increased from 28 billion dollars in 1970 to 125 billion dollars in 1982 and to 165 billion dollars in 1985.

No less than 27 per cent of all US arms exports are channelled to the developing countries. Not coincidently there is a direct link between the import of arms from the USA and the mortality rate in these countries.

According to calculations by a group of UN experts, in a developing state with a population of 8.5 million and per capita GNP of 350 dollars, every 200 million dollars' worth of arms imported from the United States produce, on the average, 20 deaths per 1,000 infants and decrease life expectancy by 3-4 years. In the early 1980s it was calculated that the cost of a 10-year programme to provide food and medical aid to the developing countries amounts to only a half of the world's annual military expenditures.

Nevertheless, the imperialist forces are urging the developing countries to increase their military budgets. They strive to artificially worsen relations among them and threaten them with "Soviet expansion" and "international terrorism". This is how they intend to isolate the national liberation movement from its main ally—the world socialist system.

The socialist countries display a radically different attitude towards the increase of military budgets in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They proceed from the assumption that the world-wide neocolonial exploitation of nations is inseparable from the imper-

ialist policy of laying a material foundation for war, and that the arms race has a destructive effect on the developing countries. The socialist countries are convinced that the militaristic principle—arming instead of developing—must be replaced by another—disarming in order to develop. Proposals to cut military budgets and re-channel part of the released funds to the developing countries serve this purpose.

The newly-free states are coming to realise the deep-rooted connection which exists between development and the restructuring of international economic relations on the one hand, and the issues of peace and disarmament on the other. Thus, the "Group of 77", a major association of the developing countries, has upheld the conclusion that stable global development and a viable international economic order call for an atmosphere of peace, harmony, cooperation and the adoption of measures on disarmament making it possible to release resources which are vital for development.

The developing countries view the threat of militarising outer space as the most dangerous aspect of the nuclear arms race initiated by the imperialists. As regards the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative proposed by the US administration, the declaration of the non-aligned Foreign Ministers (Luanda, 1985) notes that "the maintenance of security through strategic defence is as illusory as the reliance on nuclear deterrence".

National anti-war movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are making a decisive contribution to the struggle against the USA's imperial policy. The Continental Conference of Peace Movements of Latin American and Caribbean Countries, held in July 1984 in Guayaquil, stressed that "now that the future of the Latin American peoples is at stake, peace fighters, regardless of their ideological and political differences, must join in exposing the warmongers, so as to prevent in good time a repetition on the continent of the aggression like the one against Grenada, and to defend the peoples' inalienable right to build their own peaceful future".

The decision adopted in 1986 by 13 nations of the Pacific Ocean to proclaim the region a nuclear-free zone is indicative of the anti-war and, especially, anti-nuclear sentiments in the countries of the national liberation zone. A previous decision to create similar zones in Latin America and Africa was adopted by the countries situated on those continents. Thus, most of the newly-free states are against the nuclear plans of imperialism. The

national and regional trade union centres play a vital part in developing the anti-war movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, among them: the Latin American Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity and the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. Thus, the Appeal of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity for detente and peace, approved by its 4th Congress (Lagos, January 1985) noted that the threat of nuclear war has risen sharply in connection with the deployment of US medium-range and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe. No country, no matter where it is located, will be able to escape the terrible consequences of a nuclear holocaust.

The declaration adopted by the Asian and Oceanic Trade Union Conference on Development and for a New International Economic Order (New Delhi, February 1985) specifically noted the importance of the trade unions' participation in the peace movement: "The arms race spearheaded by imperialist military-industrial complexes is pushing the world to the brink of a new world war. In view of the plan announced by the United States for the militarisation of space, there is grave danger of the arms race spreading out into space. The struggle for safeguarding peace on Earth has never been so urgent. The trade unions the world over, with hundreds of millions of working people organised in their ranks, constitute a real force capable of leading the struggle to thwart the warmongers." The adoption of this declaration is all the more important because ten of the 35 trade union centres participating in the Delhi Conference were members of the World Federation of Trade Unions, 5 were members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 2 were members of the World Confederation of Labour and 18 were not members of these international associations. This proves the necessity and the possibility of joint actions by trade unions of various orientations in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

On the whole, in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America there is an understanding of the fact that only the anti-war solidarity of the people of the entire world, with the further mobilisation of the progressive forces in the national liberation movement which aims to achieve the main condition of complete liberation—peace and disarmament, can put an end to the adventurist, aggressive plans of the imperialists. The intensification of the anti-war movement and of the May Day demonstrations in the developing countries are also proof of this.

A HOLIDAY WHICH CALLS FOR UNITY

Over 100 years separate us from the events which took place in the USA giving rise to the celebration of May Day. The working people of the world have won the right to hold these world-wide demonstrations through a bitter, persistent struggle. The 19th century is now a part of history, and the 20th century is nearing its close, but the class battles in the world still rage. The news dispatches from the May Day demonstrations each year remind us of those past first clashes between the proletariat and capitalism. At times these dispatches are tragic.

Thus, in 1986 a demonstration of workers in South Africa, determined to put an end to apartheid, brought millions of South Africans into the streets to celebrate May Day. According to the information agencies, no less than 4 million African workers stayed away from their jobs that day in response to the trade union appeals that they participate in the planned demonstrations and meetings. These were held in Johannesburg, Capetown, Durbin, Port Elizabeth and other industrial centres of the country. However, the police attacked the demonstrators, eight persons were killed and dozens of others were arrested.

That same day in Chile the army and the police virtually occupied the capital. Despite these extraordinary measures a large number of Chileans infiltrated the police cordons to take part in a meeting. Their slogans were: "Down with Pinochet!" and "Democracy for Chile!" Pinochet sent his punitive police troops to break up the demonstration. Dozens of people were wounded and over 500 were arrested and imprisoned.

Naturally, the times when May Day was outlawed everywhere are now a thing of the past, but even today in the Republic of South Africa, Chile and other countries ruled by extreme right regimes, the participants in May Day demonstrations can never be sure of returning home safely after the demonstrations. The repressive bodies in these countries are put on the alert and their

arms and ammunition are ready with waterguns, rubber batons, guns, handcuffs, as well as prisons and police precincts, which are usually overcrowded after May Day celebrations.

As before, many countries have adopted new antidemocratic laws, many are specially timed for May 1 which "legalise" the repressions against the members of May Day demonstrations. Thus, on the eve of May 1, 1979 the fascist junta in Chile issued a "law" against "terrorism" which it defines as even the slightest resistance to the regime. However, even such measures do not help. Although the number of persons arrested on May Day is increasing steadily, the mass nature of the May Day demonstrations remains unchangeable.

Those who are trying to acquire laurels by suppressing May Day demonstrations must learn from the history of the two Chicago monuments.

At the edge of Haymarket Square, near the exit to Kennedy Highway, there stands a massive grey granite truncated pyramid with clumsy stone volutes at the corners. It bears a weather-beaten inscription: "Erected by the city of Chicago in commemoration of its defenders who stood up staunchly against the rioters on May 4, 1886". The monument evokes conflicting responses of passers-by. Some walk by indifferently, others raise their eyebrows in surprise and others smile sarcastically—they remember that a monument to a policeman who took part in the massacre of unarmed members of a demonstration once stood here.

Chicago moneybags erected this monument as a warning to the proletariat fighting for their rights. The statue of a policeman with his hand raised was put up in 1889. The then Mayor of Chicago said in his speech at the unveiling of the "monument" that it would stand on Haymarket Square forever, as a symbol of "freedom and law".

However, the workers had their own opinion. The bronze idol was once and again found thrown down off its pedestal and sometimes it was cracked by "unknown persons". The fragments were collected and put together. In the 1920s a tram-driver knocked the statue down at high speed.

In the 1950s when the country was shaken by antiwar demonstrations against the USA's aggression in South-East Asia, things became tough for the bronze policeman. Mayor Daley even suggested that it be covered with a transparent hood. Finally it was decided that

the statue would be guarded round-the-clock. A large sum of the municipal budget was spent for this purpose. Nevertheless, in 1972 the authorities were compelled to remove it from the square and transfer this symbol of anti-worker repression to a "safe" place, a place where it belonged from the very beginning, the courtyard of the Police Department. Later the much-repaired "monument" was placed in the inner courtyard of the Police Academy.

Phrase such as "Hands off Nicaragua!" or "Stop US imperialist wars!" are often sprayed on the deserted pedestal.

The reactionary forces of Chicago do everything possible to make the Americans forget the history of the holiday of international workers' solidarity. They gladly wipe out everything connected with the Chicago events of the 1880s. Today it is not easy to find Haymarket Square: guides do not mention it and it is not included on tourist maps of the city. The name of the square disappeared in the course of city re-planning. One of the buildings that faces the square bears traces of bolts. On May 3, 1970 a memorial plaque was put up here at the initiative of the local Society of the History of the Workers' Movement during a mass rally to the strains of the *Marseillaise*. Six months later the plaque was torn down.

At present the city's authorities are planning to build a Disneyland-type amusement park on the area of Haymarket. But, the workers, supported by the trade unions, are campaigning for laying out a small memorial park on the square and erecting a monument symbolising the workers' struggle.

Meanwhile, the rightist forces cannot reconcile the existence of the monument on the grave of Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Lingg. It consists of two dark figures, a mourning woman holding a crown of thorns over a lifeless body of a man placed against a white marble slab. The Haymarket martyrs' gravesite is as sacred to the working people of America as is *le Mur des Fédérés* in Paris to the French workers. The gravesite is located by the central alley of the Chicago Forest Home Cemetery and is surrounded by graves of other prominent working class leaders: William Foster, Eugene Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Frank Pellegrino and many others. The names of two other outstanding figures of the American and international workers' movement are also present here. According to the will of Joe Hill, a workers' tribune and singer executed as a result of a

frame-up in Utah in 1915, part of his ashes were scattered beside the monument to the Haymarket martyrs. William Haywood, one of the leaders of the US workers' movement, who died in Moscow in 1928, made a similar clause in his will. Part of his ashes were burried on Red Square in Moscow and the other near the gravesite of the Haymarket heroes.

Two months before the May Day of 1982 a shameful act of vandalism was committed at the grave of Parsons and his comrades. Caustic paint was poured over the bright marble of the monument.

Those who counted on finally having an excuse to remove the monument miscalculated. In response to an appeal of the Illinois Society of the Workers' Movement History and the local trade unions, funds for restoring the monument were collected at once. By May 1, 1982 it was restored, and a rally was held on that day celebrating its second unveiling. The ceremony was followed by an unprecedentedly large demonstration. August Spies' words he flung at his executioners come to mind: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

The ruling circles in many developed capitalist countries do not openly venture to suppress the May Day demonstrations. However, they manage to outlaw them under various and sometimes ridiculous pretexts. For example, in 1980 the authorities of Los Angeles prohibited the May Day demonstration on the grounds that it would block traffic and paralyse the city's life for several hours.

Far from renouncing repressions and administrative measures against demonstrations in their anti-May Day policies, the ruling circles in many capitalist countries also try to distort the essence of this holiday and often proclaim May 1 a holiday which has nothing to do with the international solidarity of the working people. However, this is no novelty. While Pinochet is trying to turn May Day into a day of solidarity between labour, capital and himself, one cannot help recalling that Hitler and his puppets acted in a similar way.

In 1955 Pope Pius XII, head of the Roman Catholic Church, known for his reactionary and anti-communist views, proclaimed a new religious holiday, the day of St. Joseph, the carpenter to be celebrated on May 1st. To prevent any misunderstanding, the Pope specified the essence of the new holiday: sanctified by the Church, May Day was to emphasise class peace rather than class

struggle. Thus, the Church attempted to replace May Day, the holiday of the working people's international solidarity, by a new one, which calls not for a class struggle, but for social peace which can supposedly be reached under the aegis of the Church.

On April 9, 1984 during a Rose Garden ceremony President Reagan designated May 1 as "Law Day USA". He said in a written presidential proclamation that the traditional May Day holiday seemed to him sad and aritificial and that the "partnership between law and liberty" must be maintained, for "without law, there can be no freedom, only chaos and disorder". The date has been chosen deliberately, in order to insinuate that the events which gave rise to the holiday of proletarian solidarity were chaotic and disorderly and opposed to "freedom" and "law".

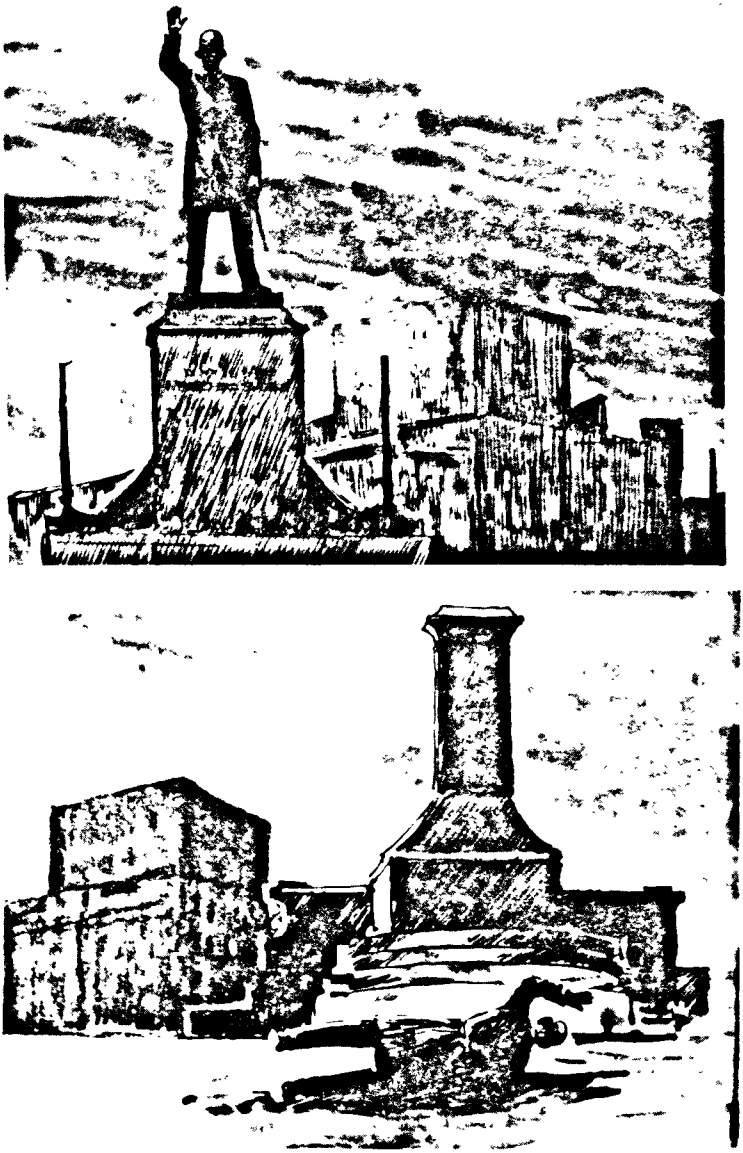
Washington's understanding of "freedom" was demonstrated by the US State Department which refused entrance visas to Soviet representatives of motor-car workers who intended to take part in celebrations devoted to the 100th anniversary of May Day in Chicago. Those who tirelessly hold forth on "free exchange of people and ideas" immediately shut the door, so as this "exchange" would not strengthen the ties between the people representing labour.

But it is not in their power to abolish the living traditions of May Day. Proof of this is the decision of Chicago's municipality, adopted shortly before the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket events and the general strike of 1886, to proclaim the city a nuclear-free zone. The city which over one hundred years ago became the birthplace of May Day, refuses to support Washington's adventurist plans and says "No" to war and nuclear weapons.

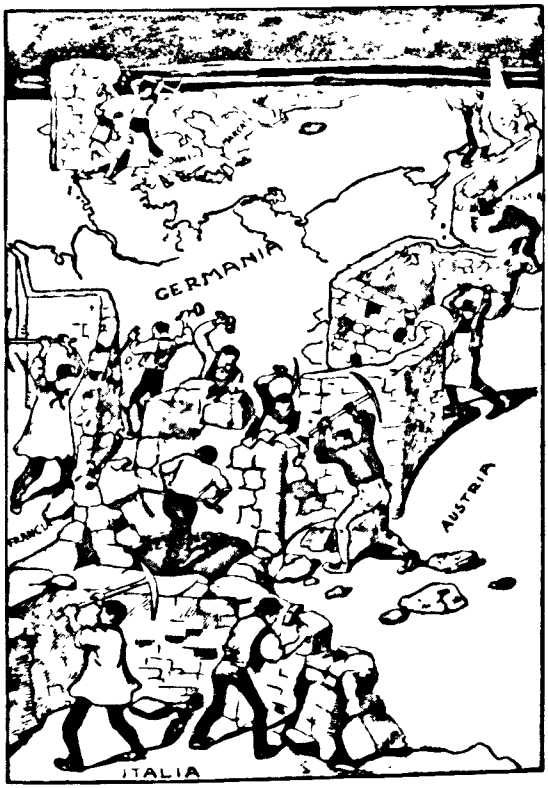
Indeed, a newspaper of German workers, issued on May Day of 1896, was prophetic in stating that May Day would outlive all bourgeois holidays, by becoming a holiday of spring and peace for all of liberated mankind. May Day is a holiday directed towards the future, for society will always need to join in an effort to advance along the endless path of social progress.

A meeting of workers, demanding the establishment of an 8-hour working day. Chicago, May 1886

The victims of judicial arbitrariness. The execution of the Haymarket martyrs, November 1887



The monument to a policeman erected by Chicago authorities after the 1886 massacre and later destroyed by the city's workers. *Drawings by I. Pchelko*



May Day in Hyde Park, London, 1892 (*third from the left*, Frederick Engels; *front*, Eleanor Marx-Aveling)

A May Day poster, Italy, 1906

A May Day meeting on Mars Field, Petrograd, 1917

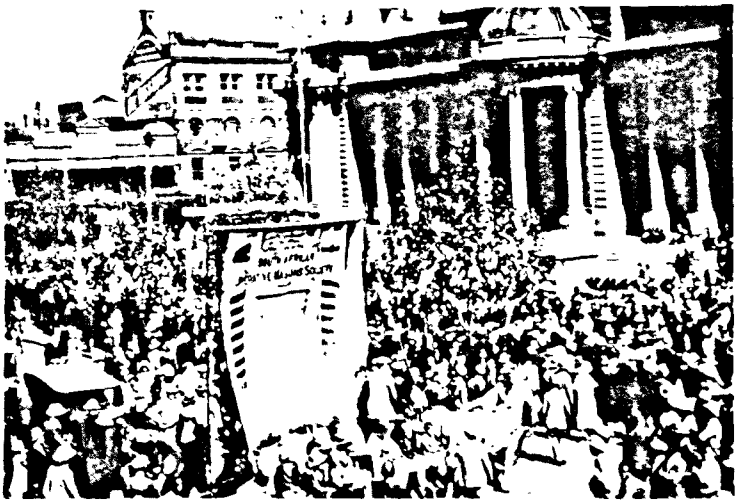
V. I. Lenin at the All-Russian *Subbotnik*, Moscow, May 1, 1920

The 1925 May Day demonstration of the People's Unity Bloc in Montevideo, Uruguay

The May 1, 1926 demonstration on the first day of the general strike in London

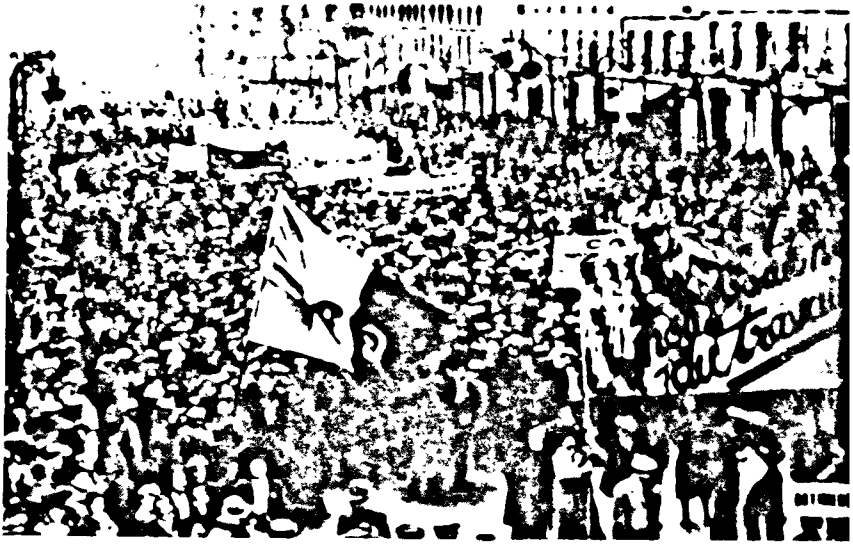
PREPARE FOR MAY DAY

Russian Workers Made May Day Let Us Follow



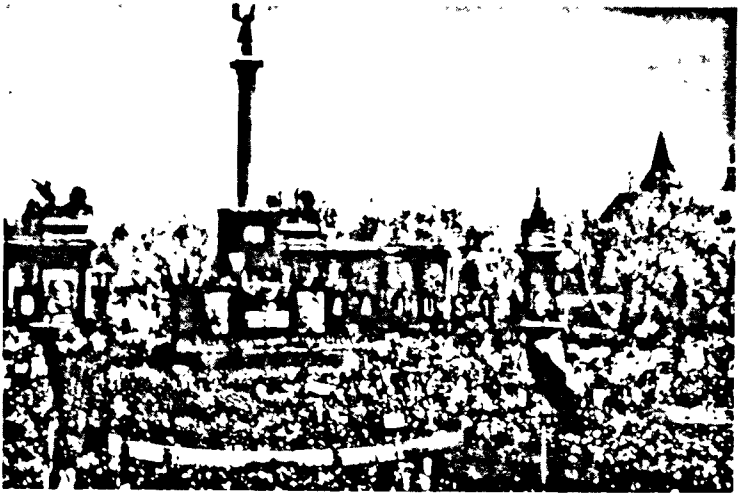
A May Day poster carried by Australian workers, 1927

A May Day demonstration in Johannesburg, 1928



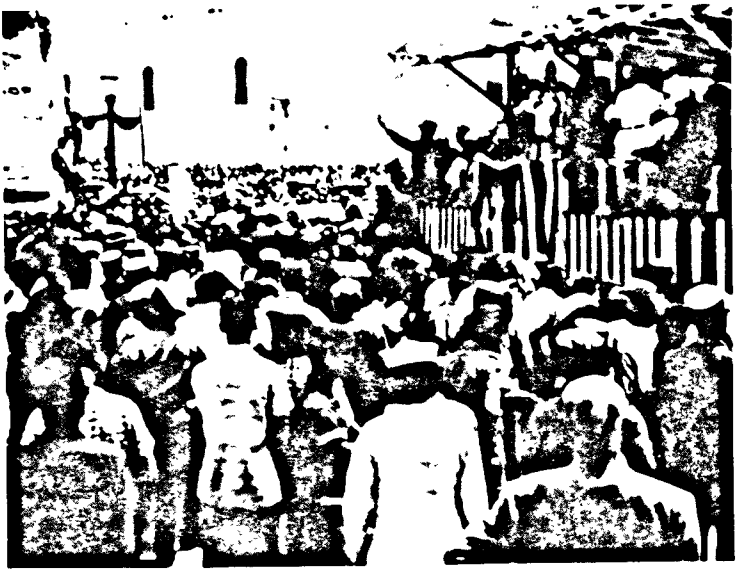
A May Day demonstration in Paris, 1937

A May Day demonstration in Tokyo, 1935



A May Day demonstration in London under the slogan of "Fascism Means War", 1934

May Day in liberated Budapest, 1945

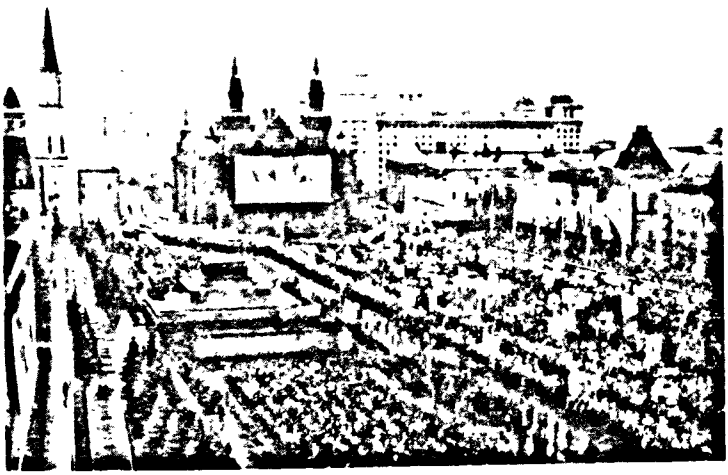


Fidel Castro speaking in Havana at the first May Day mass rally of Cuban working people after the overthrow of Batista dictatorship, 1959

The May 1, 1962 meeting in Union Square in New York City
The population of Hanoi celebrating the victory of the Vietnamese people over the US imperialists and their Saigon puppets. May, 1975

The GDR. A May Day demonstration in Berlin, 1985

A May Day demonstration in Prague, 1985



Moscow, Red Square, May 1, 1985

West Berlin, May 1, 1983. The marchers carry a banner reading: "Down with the NATO decision to deploy nuclear missiles"

India. A peace march in Madras, 1985

England. Participants in the anti-war rally outside the Greenham Common military base
The people of Copenhagen at an anti-war demonstration in the centre of the city, 1983

The GDR. Students of the Rostock Teacher-Training College at a meeting of solidarity with Nicaragua, 1984

Japan. Students demonstrating against the US administration's policy in Central America, 1984

Chile. A clash between demonstrators and the police, May 2, 1984

Soviet youth vote for peace

Byelorussia. Week of Action for Disarmament. A demonstration in Vitebsk, 1985

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PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

This book is about the emergence and evolution of May Day-- an international holiday of the working people's solidarity. It covers May Day actions in various countries today. Taking a closer look at the May Day traditions the reader will recognise them in the present-day mass anti-imperialist and anti-war movements, for they pursue the same aims as the holiday of workers' solidarity: peace and fraternity of all nations.

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